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The Untold Story...

WHO KILLED PRIVATE EDUCATION?

By Samuel L. Blumenfeld

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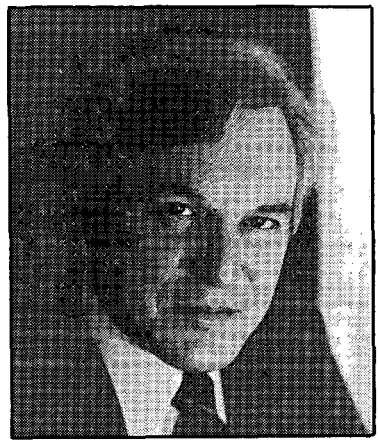

Nathaniel Branden is the author of *The Psychology of Self-Esteem, Breaking Free,* and *The Disowned Self.* He is in private practice in Los Angeles, is Executive Director of the Biocentric Institute, offers training to psychologists, psychiatrists and other mental health professionals, and conducts INTENSIVES in major cities throughout the United States.

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Reason Magazine,
Dr. Cheri Adrian

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March 1979/Vol. 10, No. 11

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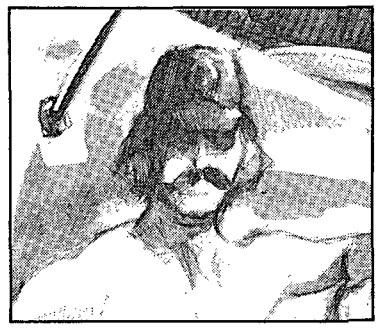

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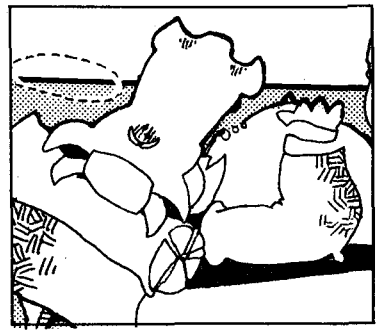

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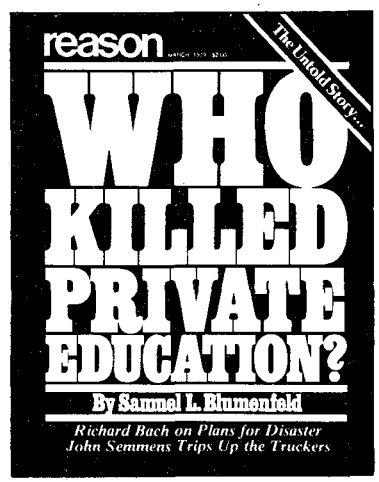
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editor's notes

• **FOUNDATION ACTIVITIES.** A conference exploring normative issues related to government regulation will be cohosted by the Reason Foundation and the Department of Economics at the University of California at Santa Barbara, as part of the Liberty Fund's program. The conference, to take place this fall, will be a three-day gathering of scholars in the fields of law, economics, and philosophy and will be codirected by Tibor R. Machan of the Reason Foundation and M. Bruce Johnson of UCSB's Economics Department. Further details will be reported in coming months.

Issue No. 5 of REASON PAPERS, the Foundation's scholarly journal, is now coming off the presses. This issue features papers on the Austrian economists' claim to a praxeological heritage, the methodology of Hobbes's political theory, von Mises's concept of time-preference, aesthetic judgments of fiction, the proper relationship between virtue and liberty, and other topics. REASON PAPERS fills the need for a journal that encourages dialogue among those in the various fields of normative studies, with a special focus on the value of liberty.

Fund-raising activities to date have been modestly encouraging. Our appeal to subscribers for year-end contributions brought in over $5,000, for which we are very grateful. In addition, a corporate public-affairs department contributed $1,000, and a foundation has made a grant of $10,000. Another individual has underwritten the production costs of REASON PAPERS No. 5. Several other foundations have expressed interest in our activities and requested further information. Although we're still a long way from our $91,000 first-year goal, the trend is very encouraging. Several new projects will be announced shortly.

• **MORE EDITORS' ACTIVITIES.** Robert Poole's article, "Looking Back: How City Hall Withered," appeared in the December issue of the *Futurist*, the magazine of the World Future Society (P.O. Box 30369, Bethesda Branch, Washington, DC 20014). The article is a future scenario of a "typical" southern California community that phases out virtually all of its local government by the year 2000. A slightly different version of the article will form the last chapter of Poole's forthcoming book, *Cutting Back City Hall*, due out later this year.

• **STRAWS IN THE WIND.** Most people are aware of the welcome changes that have taken place at *Harper's* under editor Lewis Lapham in the last few years. That magazine has punctured many a liberal balloon, especially that of "leisure-class environmentalism." But now some amazing things are taking place at rival *Atlantic Monthly* as well. In July, Editor Robert Manning penned the following: "I am becoming enamored, too, of the pre-Keynesian notion that there is only one real cause of inflation—that is, the printing of money in quantities above and beyond what is justified by real gains in production and productivity. Isn't it becoming evident that inflation in the name of social progress isn't producing much progress and is stealing my money and my family's money—and yours—while at the same time undermining the government's ability to govern?" This was followed in December by an "Adam Smith" (George Jerome Goodman) article on energy and hyperinflation. That piece concluded with a New York banker (and ex-Treasury official) lamenting his role in cutting the dollar loose from gold, juxtaposed with Pearl Buck's description of the nightmarish results of the German hyperinflation of 1923. It looks as if economic sanity is breaking out amongst the intelligentsia.

• **MUSICIAN DIES.** It is with regret that we note the death of well-known jazz trumpeter and composer Don Ellis on December 17 at his home in North Hollywood, California. Ellis, 44, succumbed to a heart condition that had forced him to curtail his career over the last few years. In the late '60s and early '70s, however, he led his big bands through brash and inventive experiments in tonality and rhythm that should have effects on that art form for years to come. To a broader populace he is remembered for his movie scores, most notably for *The French Connection*. Ellis also was a friend of the Libertarian Party. And among the fine things that will be remembered about these early years of the party will be the fact that Ellis led what had to be the most talented of election-rally bands at MacBride headquarters, election night, 1976. He will be missed.

—R. P.

LUDWIG von MISES

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The China Decision

editorial

What are we to make of Jimmy Carter's stunning about-face on US policy toward China? Most liberals (including Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon) praised the move, calling it a recognition of reality. Most conservatives denounced it, as the spurning of an ally for an enemy and a usurpation of Congress's treaty-making authority. Both views, it seems to us, are off-base.

To begin with, the conservatives are on target in criticizing Carter for abandoning Taiwan (though not for recognizing China). It is quite true that the Nationalist dream of retaking the mainland and its claim to be the true government of China are mere fantasies—fantasies that US policy tacitly encouraged up till now. But facing those realities need not have meant accepting—as Carter did—the Chinese claim that "there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China."

The fact is that Taiwan is a *country*, in every sense of the word. Economically, it ranks second only to Japan in all of Asia. In 1978 its economy grew by 13 percent, with inflation of less than 7 percent and unemployment of only 2.5 percent. Taiwan's exports totaled $12.5 billion last year—more than double those of China. Yet that incredible output was accomplished by only 17 million people, compared with an estimated billion in China. And despite the fact that only 22 governments now maintain full diplomatic relations with Taiwan, it engages in trade with 140 countries.

Carter *could* have held out for a two-China policy—a policy of full, normal diplomatic relations with both China and Taiwan. The Chinese government had far more to gain from "normalization" of relations than did ours, given Teng Hsiao-p'ing's urgent drive to modernize the country and bolster it against Soviet threats. Expanded US trade, free of political restraints, is essential to Teng's campaign for the Four Modernizations. A tough, professional negotiating stance by Carter and Brzezinski would very likely have yielded concessions on this point—especially if linked to a phase-out of the US-Taiwan defense treaty.

Indeed, a US policy that insisted on full recognition of the legitimacy of the Taiwan government, and allowed continued sale of US arms for its defense, indefinitely, would probably have done as much to guarantee Taiwan's survival as would continuation of the treaty itself. It is doubtful that the Chinese would take lightly the presence of an official US embassy, together with hundreds of American industrial plants. Would they mount an attack on Taiwan that could be interpreted as an attack on American officials, personnel, and assets?

Holding out for such a policy would have earned Carter no points with professional liberals but would have gained the respect of decent people both here and abroad.

Nevertheless, despite the weakness of Carter's deal, the future of US-China-Taiwan relations may not be as bleak as it appears to many conservatives. To begin with, Taiwan's very economic strength—and the interests of its 140 trading partners—may spare it from outright Chinese attack. Not to mention the Taiwanese air superiority over the 100-mile Taiwan Strait and China's present lack of amphibious troops and landing craft.

The turmoil now taking place in China offers further hope that the rhetoric of reuniting "all of China" may give way to more important economic realities. In the past few months, wall posters in Peking and other cities have openly praised the economic achievements of, first, Japan; later, the United States; and even . . . yes, hated Taiwan. In Tien An Men, for example, one poster last December acknowledged that "Taiwan now has one of the highest standards of living in all of Asia. Why is it that our national economy has not been able to catch up with the one controlled by the Chiang Kai-shek clique?" Even six months earlier, to raise such a question would have been unthinkable.

Besides such minor straws in the wind, and questionable Peking assurances that it will not invade Taiwan, there are two solid precedents for a policy of peaceful coexistence between China and its prosperous neighbor. The first is that in the past few years China has learned to live in harmony with its ancient enemy, Japan. Not merely wall posters but official pronouncements, from Vice-Premier Teng on down, endorse the idea of learning from Japan, of borrowing not only technology but other aspects of industrial organization. The *Kwangming Daily*, journal of China's educated class, has predicted that China could "advance by leaps and bounds" by following Japan's example. Since the resumption of diplomatic ties in 1972, 150,000 Japanese business and professional people have visited China and 10,000 Chinese have traveled the other way. Two-way trade has soared from $1 billion to $3.49 billion, and a new eight-year trade agreement should lead to another doubling shortly. Taiwan's economy closely resembles that of Japan of about a decade ago. It would make an equally logical Chinese trading partner.

The other precedent for coexistence is a "nation" that is something of a Taiwan-in-miniature: Hong Kong. Though nominally a British colony, Hong Kong is considered part of China by the Chinese; the Peking regime has never accepted the legality of the 19th-century treaty ceding the territory to the British. And although the tiny colony is defenseless against a Chinese takeover, such a move has not happened—*and will not.* Why? Because it is in the interest of the Chinese to leave Hong Kong alone. Through supplying the colony's food and water, and operating a growing network of banks, shipyards, and factories, China is earning over $2 billion a year from Hong Kong. And the pragmatic Chinese are unwilling to tamper with the colony's success by imposing political or economic controls —*even though they claim its territory.*

Will Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his technocratic allies recognize Taiwan's similar value as a freeport and window on the world? Or will they allow ideology and national pride to prevail? No one can say for sure, but at this point, it looks as if economists and technocrats have the upper hand. If they continue to hold it, the odds are good that they will allow free-trading, entrepreneurial Taiwan to become a sort of super Hong Kong. Close contact with such a trading partner would bring the Chinese face-to-face with the benefits of free-market economics.

More than anything else, what Asia needs now are two, three,. . . many Hong Kongs. And Taiwan is ideally suited to such a role. Let us hope that, despite Jimmy Carter's sell-out, Taiwan will be free to become the super freeport of Asia.

Robert Poole, Jr.

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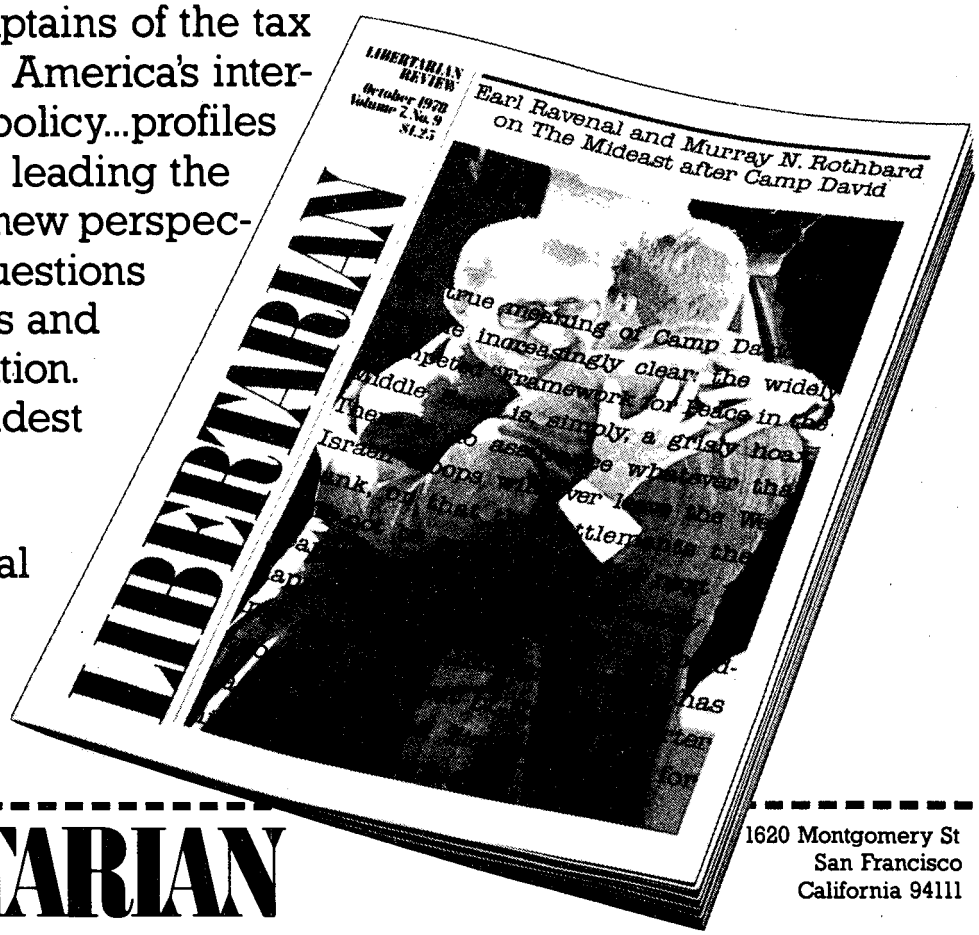

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letters

Primal Points

As Cheri Adrian acknowledges in her generally insightful review [December] of R. D. Rosen's *Psychobabble*, a lot of nonsense is being sold today in the name of psychology. But Rosen's book is itself a part of that nonsense, at least in regard to his unfounded inclusion of Arthur Janov's Primal Therapy on his shopping list of "pop" psychocults.

Certainly, many of the proliferating weird new therapies of the '70s are anti-rational, subjectivist, authoritarian, jargonized, simplistic, and complacent, often claiming quick cures and total fulfillment. But Primal Therapy is none of the above.

REASON readers should know better than to be taken in by Primal Therapy's superficial talk-show image of a "scream-your-way-to-instant-catharsis" cure-all. We've seen how the media can trivialize, distort, and vulgarize our own ideas; we should not make the mistake of judging a new therapy, philosophy, or social movement by what we know of it from Barbara Walters, the *New York Times*, and *People* magazine.

As Adrian suggests, the proper response to what appear to be wildly inflated claims is a healthy skepticism. Undoubtedly some of Janov's theoretical formulations can be rationally criticized. His earlier writings tended to be anti-intellectual, and underestimated the complexities of human psychology. Some of his conclusions are extrapolated beyond what is justified by his research, particularly when he moves out of his own field of expertise into sociology, economics, and philosophy (though libertarians will be intrigued to discover Janov's argument that a Primal society will be a society without government).

But skepticism carried to the extreme of refusing to face reality is *not* healthy. REASON readers ought not to rely on Rosen's fast-talk, but should check out the evidence first-hand. Janov's latest and most developed work is reported in *Primal Man: The New Consciousness*, co-authored with neurologist Michael Holden.

It is my contention that Primal Therapy is not a "psychotherapy" at all, but the first psychophysiological therapy, which offers a way out of mind-body dualism.

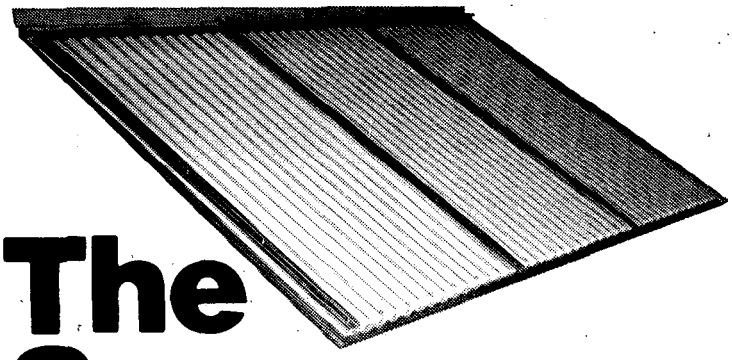
Thomas Szasz, and other skeptics, please take note: Mental illness is not a myth. It's as real as the human nervous system.

Michael Grossberg
Austin, TX

Questionable Optimism

It is unfortunate that some of the libertarian movement's most respected intellectuals are promoting some very questionable attitudes. I refer to the positions of Rothbard as advanced in his December Viewpoint.

First and most important, the Marxist-Leninist concept of the dialectical nature of history has several serious flaws: if the victory of libertarian ideas is so inevitable, why should I and my fellow LP activists



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sacrifice so much of our own precious time and money on the effort? If state-capitalism will naturally "founder on its own inner contradictions," what is the point of breaking our asses to defeat it? In fact, in order for that wonderful, victorious day to be hastened, might we all be better advised to *promote* statism (which will in turn speed up the recognition of statism's inadequacies, and so forth) as so many leftist dialectic fans have theorized? These are serious questions which Rothbard must answer before any LP optimist should accept his rationale for optimism.

Second, the leadership errs in promoting optimism so enthusiastically, I believe, since it is precisely the high expectations which they generate that cause much of the disillusionment when our activists encounter reality. Some of our most capable people are getting killed in the trenches of signature-gathering, campaigning, and daily political activity. Our best people enter the political arena with Rothbardian optimism, discover the nasty world of politics, and wither into hopelessness at the dichotomy.

I believe that a more guarded, long-term optimism may be justified. For instance, we may point out the intelligence, dedication and courage of our fellow-libertarians and realize that it is by virtue of these heroic attributes of our individual freedom-fighters that we will prevail. Or we may also adopt optimism as a strategic tool, since confidence and enthusiasm are essential elements to a winning strategy. Neither of these rationales, however, promotes the fatalistic, mystical (and usually collectivist) notions inherent in dialectical theory or the self-deception inherent in the thoughtless optimism of the novice and the person divorced from the routine, ugly realities of the fray.

Lee Nason
Cambridge, MA

Educational Dispute

Complete desocialization of American education [Editorial, December]? About as easy as saying that henceforth all people will walk on their hands instead of their feet!

I am against the ever-increasing socialistic programs mandated by the various forms of government. However, common or public elementary and secondary education has been with us, in some form, for 200 or more years, and in the absence of anything better that (1) educates the masses and (2) bills adults a small amount over a large number of years (portion of property taxes), it is the best thing going.

Early common or public education in America (all of 1800 and the first half of

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1900) provided, for those who attended and completed the course of study, adequate preparation to be admitted to the various colleges and universities or to mainstream themselves into the general population and become useful citizens.

Today, however, it is a little different. One of the biggest problems with public education has been the changes mandated by federal and state governments and the courts. Nowhere in the Constitution of the United States is control of education mentioned. Right or wrong according to individual beliefs, the courts have mandated busing of students and eliminated prayer, and now before the courts is an issue of taking Christ out of an annual Christmas program.

Another problem of public education today is apathy on the part of parents and this apathy carries to the school via the students. Possibly this would change if parents were charged a tuition. Thirdly, public schools have lost their authoritarian role over the child. Success of parochial and private education today can be attributed to authoritarian atmosphere within these schools.

Back to your editorial concerning, in part, the breaking of the public school monopoly. Vouchers and tax credits are nothing more than the redistribution of wealth, and home tutoring would bring us back to a setting as found in "The Little House on the Prairie" TV show, as a lot of parents today would have a difficult time completing modern algebra 1, let alone trying to teach it. If all are not educated, an illiterate population (or education for the rich) could bring, in time, a dictatorship form of national government.

I leave to your many readers thoughts about the common or public form of elementary and secondary education. If there are ways or means to desocialize American education as mentioned in your editorial, perhaps your readers will comment. It has been said that democracy (government by the people) is not perfect but yet is the best form of government so far invented. Possibly we could say the same today about common or public education as, so far, it is the best invented.

Corwin Arndt
Maxwell, NE

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Solutions Important

The January issue of REASON arrived this afternoon. When I saw the startling cover picture I immediately read the story ["Is This Any Way to Run an Airway?"]!

Congratulations for clearly bringing this terrible and terrifying situation out in the open. And—more important—for stating possible solutions that could, if implemented promptly, save a lot of lives.

My flying started in 1932 and has greatly increased through the years, so I realize the importance of what you say.

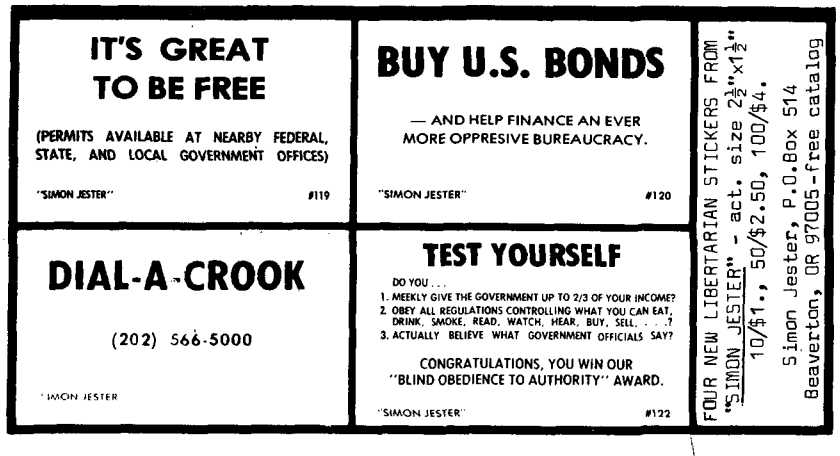
Herbert M. Elkins
Sunland, CA

Libertarian Sensitivity

I want to send my compliments on the quality of the articles that have been appearing in recent issues. I find two or three articles that I can use in the classroom in each issue.

Being a fairly recent student of libertarian thought, I find several areas in the libertarian tradition which seem to be deficient. . . . For example, I find the absence of the concept of preventive behavior in libertarian thought. Let me explain. A libertarian society's success is based at least partially upon high personal ethical standards. By ethical I mean it takes highly committed individuals who are sensitized to the needs for voluntary interaction based on rational, free choice. Now certain actions by individuals are obviously coercive or fraudulent and thus collectivized force can be used. Libertarian thought, however, appears to posit that such collectivized force can only be legitimately used after the wrongful act is committed; threat of such wrongful act is not considered enough to legitimize the use of collective force. Thus a libertarian society would appear to have built-in seeds of destruction, as individuals can initiate coercive acts much faster than legitimized collective force can react to them. Legitimized collective preventive behavior appears to be excluded. Should such acts be excluded?

In addition, it would appear that the survival of a libertarian society depends upon constant attention to imparting and supporting sensitized, rational behavior among individuals. Unfortunately, attacks on sensitization and rationality, unlike attacks on personal property, are not always immediately measurable; erosion occurs over a period of time, often in small increments which go unnoticed (witness Fabian Socialism). The cumulative effect of this erosion, however, is such that before the threat becomes common knowledge, the inertia created by the erosion cannot be easily reversed. A purely defensive use of legitimized collective coercion can be used when the danger was imminent. I believe that some of the so-called victimless crimes contribute to the erosion process of both sensitization and rationality. As an example, violence on TV and pornography have been shown by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some studies to lead to desensitization in that other persons are seen not as human beings with dignity but rather as objects to be manipulated. If the majority of persons become desensitized, how can the principles of libertarianism be implemented? . . .

I would like to see a dialogue started on the role of preventive behavior, both individual and collective, in a libertarian society. If you are aware of any past discussions on these questions, I would appreciate references.

Douglas W. Schell
Auburn, AL

Criminal Law Reform

The article on S 1437 [November] was excellent. NCARL (National Committee Against Repressive Legislation) will support the new House Bill 13959, which advocates the incremental approach to changes in federal criminal law. All libertarians should join NCARL in this positive push.

Shelly Waxman
Chicago, IL

Happiness

I would like to point out what I consider a point missed by Jim Stumm and Sid Greenberg [Letters, December] and an emphasis lacking in Paul Beaird's review [September] and Ayn Rand's work. Man's life qua man as the standard of ethics is uncontestable.

What else would you have? Ayn Rand is correct in noting that happiness can be the end but *not the standard*. Without a standard one has no means to gauge possible happiness. We have no infallible guide, which is her point and the whole purpose of ethics.

As I see it, what Jim Stumm and especially Sid Greenberg object to is the depersonalized and intellectually rigid and emotionally stultifying atmosphere of Objectivism communicated by the attitude and practices of its founder. I was outraged at the article in *Life* (or *Look*) entitled "The Angry Cult of Ayn Rand," but 8-10 years later I consider it a fairly accurate if somewhat emotionally drawn account.

"Man qua man" is subject to interpretation. I for one take it personally and indeed *within the context of my life* would deliberate on my possible future happiness and fulfillment in choosing something so important as a career. On the other hand, one can take "man qua man"

(*Continued on p. 49.*)

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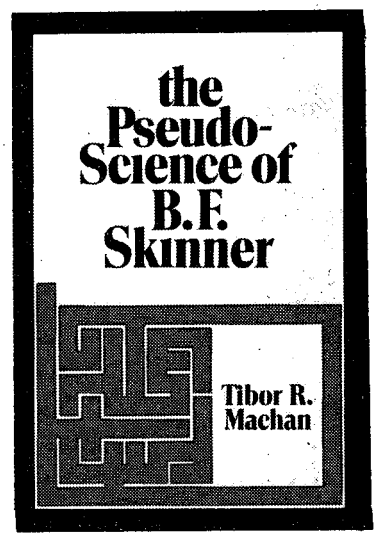

- **Is behaviorism really scientific?**
- **Is free will a meaningless concept?**
- **Would a Skinnerian society be a dictatorship?**

Tibor Machan addresses these questions in this important book on the ideas of B.F. Skinner. If you're concerned about the relationship of science to ethics and politics, this book is must reading.

B.F. Skinner claims to study human behavior scientifically. But does Skinner's view of science hold up under scrutiny? Skinner's influence *is* considerable in some circles — educational psychology, prison reform, and other areas where behavior mod is in vogue. But his impact is now declining. This book explains why Skinner's views, though at first appearing very helpful, actually deliver far less than they promise.

Dr. Machan takes a unique approach to Skinner's politics. He shows that, *by Skinner's own account*, his views lead to a *technocracy of behaviorists*. Skinner holds that proper values and goals are whatever he and his peers want! (Really!)

Finally, Machan shows why a correct view of science does not conflict with free will and political liberty. He shows why science *cannot* require that human behavior be determined, as Skinner maintains. (Science is committed to identifying and studying human nature — something that precludes deterministic prejudgement by social scientists.)

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brickbats

☐ **The historic Carter Energy Bill,** all five super-sections of it, was signed into red tape on November 9, 1978. It was hailed by President Carter as "60 percent" of what he wanted.

On December 17, 1978, the OPEC leaders, in a high-level summit meeting, agreed to raise the price of oil by 14.5 percent. This action was denounced by the president's so-called inflation fighter, Alfred Kahn, who declared that he was "shocked" and "very, very disappointed" at OPEC's "unwarranted" decision.

It might seem strange that the administration's colossal energy program, which was designed to lower the burden of our extortion payments to the Arab cartel, has signaled the oil exporters that a healthy price hike is in order. But not so strange to those in the know, as revealed in the January *Harper's* by Craig Karpel ("Ten Ways to Break OPEC"): "An official from the Department of Energy suggested to me, not altogether facetiously, that the most effective way of breaking OPEC would be to eliminate the Department of Energy. 'Aside from OPEC there's no real energy problem,' he said. 'If OPEC were out of the picture there'd be no need for an energy department. We manage to get along without a steel department, after all. The existence of the DOE means that 17,000 hungry, cunning people in this town depend directly on OPEC for their livelihood.' "

☐ **The notorious GSA scandal,** which could send several dozen civil servants to new government offices in Fort Leavenworth, has prompted AFL-CIO vice-president Ken Blaylock to dispense emergency legal advice to some 300,000 unionized jobholders of the federal government. Blaylock, who is president of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), has advised his minions to "invoke the Fifth Amendment" when obnoxious federal prosecutors come knocking. News commentators have noted that this has long been a legal tactic of the Mafia, but the thought of the AFL-CIO borrowing strategies from the Cosa Nostra hardly seems like "news" anymore.

☐ **Another successful government program** has managed to lift millions out of poverty and into the tax-paying middle class. Small Business Administration chief A. Vernon Weaver has testified that an amazing 30 minority businesses given special SBA loans have proven to be successful entrepreneurial enterprises—that is, successful enough to pay back the loans. Unfortunately, the other 5,570 recipients of the government subsidies were not "able" to settle their accounts with the federal taxpayers.

☐ **The Sierra Club notwithstanding,** brace yourself for another gallant intrusion by the feds, this one to combat the dangerous menace of what Rep. Harry Waxman (D-Calif.) calls "innocent looking poison—the household plant." The eminent Jack Anderson warns that elephant ears and castro bean are among the most fearsome toxins, and a full-scale congressional investigation of indoor greenery is surely expected.

☐ **The first three living Western** journalists were allowed to tour Cambodia in December 1978—two of them actually managed to return alive. The unlucky third was Malcolm Caldwell, "a 47 year-old British scholar and journalist," who was shot dead while relaxing at a government "guesthouse." Professor Caldwell's treatment was rude, particularly in the light of his undying (until now) allegiance to his humanitarian hosts. According to his traveling companion, Elizabeth Becker of the *Washington Post,* Caldwell was a "Marxist economist who had written favorably of the Cambodian Communist administration, [and] had been treated throughout our stay as a special friend of the government."

☐ **An outstanding suggestion** with broad implications for public policy has come from Czechoslovakian expatriate Eugen Loebl. All economists, he says, should be given "five years of solitary confinement." Loebl, now a professor of economics at Vassar College, has solid background for his view, having done five years of solitary in Prague at the request of the Kremlin and having spent a total of 11 years behind bars. Originally a Marxist, Loebl claims to have "reconsidered" his theoretical prejudices during his term, in which, coincidentally, he saw 11 of his 13 "coconspirators" executed. Now he theorizes, "The problems of a mature society cannot be solved by Marx." As for his colleagues being given a similar sentence? "Half of them might radically rethink their ideas, and the other half would at least be out of circulation where they could do no harm."

☐ **The days of "relevance" and "revolution"** continue to slip into the abyss of history. At the once notoriously radical University of Wisconsin, the newly liberated student government has abandoned community action in favor of the so-called Pail and Shovel Party. The "self-proclaimed hedonists" called upon their constituents to lower their expectations when casting ballots, as revealed by their catchy campaign slogan: "We care about sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll. We don't care about you."

☐ **Close tax loopholes** for the poor? That might be the motto of the state of Massachusetts, the quintessential progressive paradise, where a government survey reveals that poor people (defined as a family of four making $7,500 annually) are more heavily taxed than anywhere else in the union. Where do they tax the rich? New York was highest in taxing families with 50 grand annual income.

☐ **The Library of Congress** has reported that the 95th Congress, just terminated, had more members honored with federal indictments than "any other Congress in our history." At least it's nice to see politicians with convictions.

☐ **Convictions such as . . .** Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich) was sentenced to jail on 31 counts of fraud and bribery. The trip to the pokey was ordered, surprisingly, even after the judge heard the statesman's undeniable plea that he "belonged" in the US House of Representatives. His Honor told Mr. Diggs to pack a lunch anyway, probably figuring that his chances for rehabilitation would be much better away from the source of temptation and shielded from undesirable companions.

☐ **About our dedicated** postal carriers, it appears as though we will not be having a postal strike this year. Negotiations dragged on last fall, and all sorts of threats and wildcat strikes popped up, but the busy Christmas rush came and went and all was normal. Or so it seems. The problem with a postal strike, of course, is much like the problem H. L. Mencken had when informed that Calvin Coolidge had died. "How can they tell?" Mencken inquired.

—Thomas Winslow Hazlett

trends

Handicapping Transit

Once again a federal regulation intended to help the disadvantaged has turned into a costly monster. This one, however, may be overturned before its full destructive potential is realized.

At stake is the survival of urban transit systems. No models of cost-effectiveness to begin with, these systems have now been hit with a staggering requirement: to provide "barrier-free" access for wheelchair users to *all* bus and subway services receiving federal funds (virtually all urban transit systems).

While sounding humane and worthwhile, the regulation (Sec. 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, as interpreted by 1977 HEW regulations, imposed by a June 1978 Department of Transportation directive) would actually impose huge costs while benefitting only a handful of people. Installing elevators at all subway stations and wheelchair lifts on all buses would cost between $2 billion and $8 billion. Some 90 percent of that cost would be needed for subway lines and would benefit only about 4,000 people.

One example of costs versus benefits has been developed by Philadelphia-based transportation consultant John Bailey. He found that the Washington Metro—which has been designed from the start as a barrier-free system—averages only 12 wheelchair passengers daily. If that demand is representative, Bailey calculates that the effective cost of modifying other subway systems will be something like *$2,000 for every trip made by a wheelchair passenger.* (Yes, every *trip.*) Obviously, it would be far less costly to buy every wheelchair passenger a specially equipped van! Or, more seriously, to have them utilize specialized vehicle services, like a dial-a-ride service for the handicapped.

City transit officials around the country —New York, Chicago, St. Louis, San Diego—have protested the DOT directive, but so far to no avail. Syndicated columnist Neal Peirce devoted an entire column to exposing its absurdity. City officials, he reported, see the federal bureaucrats as "operating in a make-believe world, thinking that local governments, in a time of Proposition 13-type restraints, can make up the difference in fares and taxes." But actually the result would be further cutbacks in service, depriving millions of citizens—including the handicapped—of service.

He might have added that monstrosities such as Section 504 are a predictable result of a political system based on the idea that people who are disadvantaged—for whatever reason—have an automatic claim on the lives and resources of their neighbors.

Rent Control—The Mirage Reappears

In the wake of Proposition 13, California renters expected rent reductions, since the majority of property owners had their property taxes reduced (except those who had purchased their units since 1975-76). Although some rents were lowered, quite a few were not—some landlords waited to see what their December tax bills would be, others knew their taxes would not be going down, and others looked at continuing high demand and decided to keep charging what the market would bear. The result was new pressure for rent control.

Although rent-control referenda suffered handy defeats last June in Santa Barbara and Santa Monica, the Los Angeles city council enacted a temporary rent freeze last summer. And last November similar freezes were passed by the voters in Berkeley and Davis (though rejected in Palo Alto, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz). City councils in Beverly Hills, El Monte, and Vacaville also enacted rent freezes.

Already the results of the Los Angeles rent freeze are beginning to appear. While permits for new-apartment construction increased 13 percent statewide for the quarter ending October 31, they *dropped* 27 percent in Los Angeles—and a third of the permits were for luxury condominiums, not rental units. Apartment prices have dropped as much as $10,000 a unit in some parts of the city since July.

This drying up of investment following imposition of rent controls is no fluke. Study after study has shown the same effect occurring virtually everywhere rent controls are enacted. Great Britain introduced rent control in 1957. Since then, private housing has dropped from 44 percent of the total to only 14.5 percent. Privately rented homes dropped from 5 million in 1957 to 2.8 million at present, according to figures from UCLA economist Werner Hirsch. And a recent amendment to Britain's rental regulations—aimed at making it harder for landlords to evict troublesome tenants—has had the effect of further drying up the market. Because the act exempts rent contracts of less than

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six months, landlords now prefer to rent to foreigners and vacationers rather than to citizens. Many thousands of young Londoners who can't find apartments sleep in cheap hotels or on park benches as a result.

Among those concerned about the mirage of rent control is Sen. William Proxmire. In a recent Senate speech he identified rent control as a "major reason" for the lack of progress in making safe and sanitary housing available to all Americans. Proxmire cited Roger Starr's book, *America's Housing Challenge*, which "explodes the myth that rent control serves the interests of the poor." Starr points out that rent control speeds the deterioration of older buildings by reducing the flow of funds needed for maintenance. "Expecting rent control to be a cheap way to provide standard housing for the needy is as absurd as using great white sharks for lifeguards: they are cheaper than people but they destroy the drowning."

The practical dilemma, of course, is that there are more tenants than landlords, and every tenant likes the idea of having his rent held down. The only hope is to educate the voters with the true results of rent control. In the majority of California cities where the issue has come to a popular vote, rent control has been soundly defeated. It is the *politicians*, not the people, who have generally voted in the controls.

Nuclear Revisionism

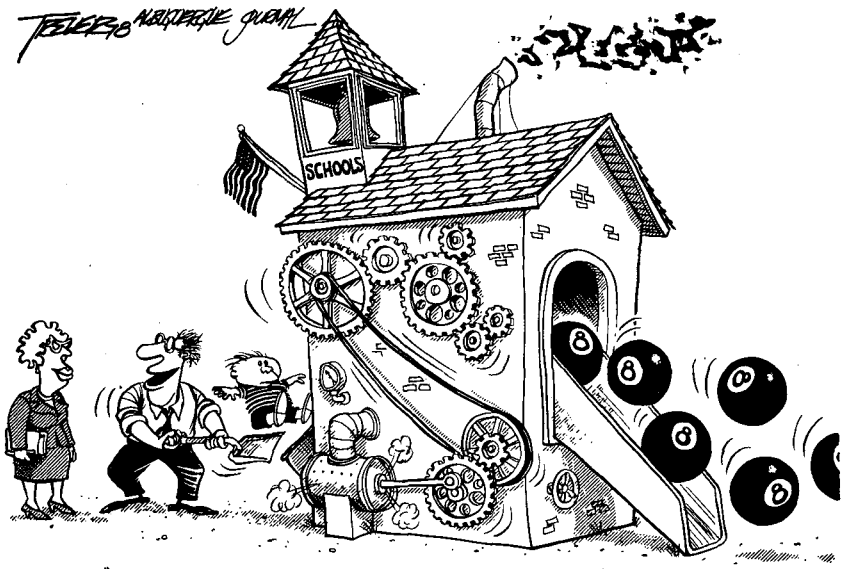
Much of what passes for debate on the nuclear power issue amounts to little more than an exchange of accusations. Far too often, there is no agreement on the *facts*—and without that, complex policy issues cannot be addressed properly.

One such issue concerns radiation exposure from nuclear power plants. Such plants do emit small amounts of radioactive material into the air. This fact has led to some of the opposition to nuclear plants, as opponents argue that this radioactivity is dangerous to those living or working nearby, possibly leading to increased incidence of cancer. But such charges evidence a complete lack of context.

First of all, a coal-fired power plant of equivalent electrical capacity releases greater amounts of radioactivity than a nuclear plant. Why? Because coal contains a number of radioactive elements, including uranium and thorium. Comparing radiation doses from 1,000-megawatt plants meeting emission standards of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency, a team of Oak Ridge National Laboratory researchers found that the whole-body population dose commitment from the coal-fired plant is from 18 to 23 man-rem/year, compared with only 13 man-rem/year for the nuclear plant (see *Science*, Dec. 8, 1978).

Adding further perspective, REASON contributor Petr Beckmann points out that the average US citizen receives about 80 mrem/year from all natural sources—cosmic rays, the ground, rocks, and elements like potassium in the body. The average person gets another 50 to 100 mrem/year from chest X-rays. Fallout from past nuclear bomb tests still gives 7 mrems/year. And airplane passengers receive 3 mrem in just a 10-hour round trip between New York and Los Angeles. Consumer products like color TVs and smoke detectors give another 1 mrem/year. What about nuclear power plants? The average person gets only 0.01 mrem/year from them, although NRC standards permit an exposure of up to 5 mrem/year at the plant's property line.

Thus, the radiation exposure issue is a classic example of the red herring.



"SURE, READING SKILLS MAY BE DOWN, BUT WE'RE TURNING OUT A BETTER-ROUNDED STUDENT THESE DAYS!"

Public-Sector Lobbying

To what extent can a public-sector entity use tax monies to lobby for or against a political issue? Not much, ruled the US District Court in Denver. The First Amendment bars "publicly financed opposition" to exercise of the right to freely petition for changes in the authority of representative government, ruled the court in a Colorado case.

The issue concerned a proposed constitutional amendment to limit government spending. The Denver school district board decided to use tax money and district facilities to urge defeat of the amendment. It interpreted the state's 1974 Campaign Reform Act to allow such activities; the act provides that government entities may "make contributions...in campaigns involving only issues in which they have an official concern."

According to the District Court, though, that wording must be very narrowly construed—for example, to concern such matters as school board elections. A proposed constitutional amendment is far too broad an issue, said the court. "An interpretation of the Campaign Reform Act as a grant of express authority for a partisan use of public funds in an election of this type would violate the First Amendment." Citing its duty to protect the freedoms of speech and petition, the court said that "a use of the power of publicly owned resources to propagandize against a proposal made and supported by a significant number of those who were taxed to pay for such resources is an abridgement of those fundamental freedoms."

In the future, therefore, public entities may have to think twice before spending *our* money fighting proposals to cut taxes and limit spending.

Antigovernment Mood Grows

Public opinion polls taken over the last few months indicate that popular discontent with high taxes and government spending is more widespread than many people have realized.

The most recent—an Associated Press/NBC News poll last December—found that 63 percent favor a substantial cut in federal spending, even if it means that

federal programs they favor would be cut. Only 27 percent would oppose such a cut. Moreover, this majority opinion holds true for every major population group—even those described as "very liberal" (56 percent in favor), "somewhat liberal" (62 percent), the poor (60 percent), and blacks (61 percent). Only when it comes to which programs to cut first are these groups divided.

These results were foreshadowed by earlier polls last fall. A *Time* poll by Yankelovich, Skelly, and White in October found that, by 48 to 40 percent, voters favored slashing federal taxes by one-third, as last year's Kemp-Roth bill would have done. In that same poll, 48 percent identified the federal income tax as the levy they most wanted reduced—property taxes ranked second, at 33 percent.

Earlier, a September poll by the *Washington Post* found that voters in every region of the country would support a Proposition 13-style cut of 30 percent in state and local taxes, by a 60 percent margin. A more moderate cut of 20 percent won the support of three-fourths of those polled. Meanwhile, a *Los Angeles Times* poll found that support for Proposition 13 itself kept climbing after its passage—despite over 70 percent feeling that public officials are not "making an honest effort to carry out the will of the people on Proposition 13."

The one disheartening note in all this is that the public is not really convinced that it can get along with less government. Many voters apparently believe simply that government is very wasteful and that it can and should continue to provide most present services, doing so more efficiently. In the *Time* poll, 43 percent gave "government waste" as the main cause of high taxes and 69 percent said it should be "possible to cut taxes a lot without reducing services." At the *local* level, 51 percent would rather have the same tax rate and more services than the same services and lower taxes! The *Post* poll found similar sentiments, with seven out of eight saying they are more concerned with how tax money is spent than with the amount of taxes they pay.

Thus, those favoring large-scale reductions in the scope of government still have their work cut out for them. Support for the tax revolt does not—yet—mean support for substantially less government.

Portugal Edges toward Freedom

The 1974 Portuguese revolution ousted a right-wing dictatorship. It also led to a communist-managed peasant seizure of 2.5 million acres of farms, nationalization of all banks, and the adoption of an explicitly socialist constitution. The side effects were many: food production plummeted, and the country has had to import half of its food; the balance-of-payments deficit climbed to $1.5 billion; and inflation soared to 27 percent.

Now, the 10th government since 1974 has taken power, and Portugal is making a marked shift away from socialism. The new premier is Carlos Mota Pinto, a former law professor and advocate of "reformism"—a gradual move toward restoring the private sector. Seized farms are being returned to their former owners, banking has been effectively denationalized, and economic statistics are looking a bit less dismal: inflation has been cut five percentage points and the balance-of-payments deficit cut to $1.1 billion. And the Socialist Party has begun losing by-elections.

In turbulent Portugal it's too early to tell how far Mota Pinto will be able to go, but his actions thus far bode well for the free market.

Home Instruction Goes Public

One of America's least-noticed phenomena—educating children at home—has become highly visible thanks to a recent

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article in *Time*. Across the country many thousands of parents are defying educational orthodoxy, and in many cases state laws, by teaching their children at home.

Radical educator John Holt is one of the leading advocates of home teaching, arguing against the regimentation and coercion of nearly all formalized schooling. His newsletter *Growing without Schooling* gives pointers on teaching and learning and keeps track of victories and losses for deschoolers.

In many states teaching kids at home still runs afoul of the law. In New Hampshire, Mrs. Betty Tompkins has been told by the state Board of Education that under present regulations she may not educate her daughter Heidi at home. But the Board agreed to consider abolishing the regulation. Mrs. Tompkins has been using the Calvert home-study curriculum, one of the leading correspondence-style curricula. Among others are the Seventh Day Adventist Home Study Institute and the Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) curricula.

Several other home-study cases have resulted in lengthy court battles. In Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Lippitt had their daughters taken away and made wards of the court when they tried educating them in an at-home Lippitt Christian Day School. Though Mrs. Lippitt is an Ohio-certified teacher, the school was not licensed by the state. After a lengthy struggle (and time in jail), the Lippitts regained custody of the girls, on condition that they be sent to the Heritage Christian School. Ironically, although that school (with 450 students) is much larger than the Lippitts' home school, it, too, is unlicensed! The Lippitts are appealing.

In Iowa, the Robert Sessions family has been fighting a court order forbidding them from educating their son Erik at home. Although Sessions teaches at Luther College, he is not certified for elementary or secondary education, and the state has used that fact against him. Sessions argued for his right to teach his son on grounds of personal religious liberty, by analogy with the conscientious objector cases of the 1960s. In October he prevailed at the District Court level and is at least temporarily free to continue teaching Erik—but school officials are reportedly planning an appeal.

In a few other states the picture is brighter. The *Time* article cited examples of unharassed home teaching in California, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Washington State. And in December a Massachusetts court upheld the right of parents "to preserve home education" under that state's laws. But much legal effort will have to take place before such a right is protected across the country.

Protecting (?) Stockholders

For the past 10 years or so there has been a great deal of clamor from Ralph Nader and his compatriots for federal chartering of corporations. One of the arguments has been that stockholders get the short end of the stick when firms incorporate in states like Delaware, famous for its non-restrictive corporations code.

The facts, however, appear to be otherwise, when someone gets around to looking for them. Two University of Rochester economists—Peter Dodd and Richard Leftwich—did just that. Their study, for the University of Rochester's Managerial Economics Research Center, examined the relationship between the state in which a firm is incorporated and its stockholders' wealth, as measured by stock prices. Specifically, they studied cases in which New York Stock Exchange firms reincorporated in the years 1927-1977. Among these moves were 242 switches to Delaware from other states. Surprise!

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When the switch to a more lenient state was announced, the price of the stock went up. Concluded the authors, "The evidence presented here lends no support to the arguments that stockholders are harmed by management's choice of state of incorporation."

Why, in fact, did the stock prices go *up*? Dodd and Leftwich suggest that states such as Delaware are selected because both the cost of doing business and uncertainty about legal decisions are lower there. Stockholders correctly perceive these advantages in bidding up the value of the firms' stock.

Nader & Co. now have one less rationalization for their campaign to clamp more restrictions on American business.

Milestones

• *Sue the Regulators.* Although the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 specifies that any airline flying across state lines is exempt from state regulation, the California Public Utilities Commission just won't let go. It wants to keep controls on the eight interstate lines now serving the state and is threatening them with $2,000 fines for each violation of its regulations. The eight have taken the PUC to court, to fight for their newly won freedom.

• *Dump Davis-Bacon.* The federal law that requires paying "prevailing" (that is, union-scale) wages on federal construction projects should be repealed. So says the General Accounting Office of the 47-year-old Davis-Bacon Act, which it calls "inflationary and ineffective." Many business firms hope the GAO report will encourage the administration to back repeal of the law as part of its anti-inflation program.

• *Another New Country.* Yet another entrepreneur is attempting to start a new nation. Col. Herbert Williams has purchased a 400-acre island in the Rio Grande River from its Mexican citizen owners and plans to declare it independent. The island emerged after Hurricane Beulah changed the river's course in 1967; the US government views the land as Mexican, but that government has never accepted jurisdiction. Enter Williams, with plans for a casino, passports, ship registration, bank secrecy—the works. If all else fails, Williams plans to fall back on his Cherokee heritage; the 19th-century Mexican treaties of Iguala and Guadalupe give the Cherokees the right to establish a nation.

• *Bureaucratic Prejudice.* What to do when the head of a federal agency expresses obvious bias on a case in which he is conducting a supposedly objective inquiry? Throw him off the case! That's what federal Judge Gerhard Gesell did recently, in a precedent-setting case. The offending bureaucrat was Michael Pertschuk, head of the Federal Trade Commission. The FTC is supposed to be conducting an inquiry regarding TV ads aimed at children. Pertschuk, however, has made such broad statements condemning such advertising that he has tainted everything done by the FTC in its inquiry, ruled Gesell. In the future, bureaucrats may find it advisable to button their lips when posing as seekers of fact.

—Robert Poole, Jr.

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Why the Schools Went Public

In the early 1800s, private schools were thriving. Then a small group of wealthy intellectuals decided education must be socialized. And in 40 years they had largely accomplished their goal. Here — for the first time — is the story of their campaign.

by Samuel L. Blumenfeld

WHY DID AMERICANS give up educational freedom for educational statism so early in their history? You will not find the answer in the standard histories, for the simple reason that the question was never asked. It has always been assumed by educational historians that whatever preceded public education had to be less desirable than, and therefore inferior to, what came after. Otherwise, why would Americans have adopted public education?

This is the mind-set that has prevented historians from telling American educational history objectively. They start from the premise that public education is an indisputable good, and they reinforce this basic assumption with a good deal of dogma and legend, often at the expense of accuracy. For example, Horace Mann is usually dubbed the "father of public education" by these historians. But public schools, or common schools as they were originally called, existed in New England for 200 years before Mann came on the scene, so he was clearly not the father of public education. If he was the "father" of anything, it was of American educational statism.

Therefore, anyone attempting to revise this history, as I did, eventually comes to the realization that he must start from the beginning. Other writers, such as E. G. West, Murray Rothbard, and David Tyack, have done pioneer work in revising the slanted history of public education. But their critiques have tended to deal with developments *after* public education was established. I did not find the answer to that primal question in their writings. As for the standard histories, they give the impression that Americans adopted public education because private education was woefully inadequate, chaotic, or elitist, incapable of satisfying the needs of the new democratic society.

Yet, the historical evidence indicates

that *prior* to the introduction of compulsory public education, Americans were probably the most literate people in the world. Nor did the preponderance of private schools preclude the poor from getting an education. In some towns there were more charity and free schools, supported by private philanthropy and school funds, than there were poor pupils to go around; in Pennsylvania, the state paid the tuition of any child whose parents could not afford to send him to a private school.

BIBLICAL LITERACY

Despite the existence of slavery in the South, the United States, for its first 50 years, was a society as unregulated by government as has ever existed. For education, it meant complete freedom and diversity. There were no accrediting agencies, no regulatory boards, no teacher certification requirements. Parents had the freedom to choose whatever kind of school or education they wanted for their children. There were private schools of every sort and size—church schools, academies that prepared students for the colleges, seminaries, dames' schools for primary education, charity schools for the poor, private tutors — and common schools.

The common schools were the original public schools and were to be found in New England and contiguous areas to which New Englanders had migrated. They were first created in the very early days of the Puritan commonwealth in Massachusetts as a means of insuring the transference of the Calvinist Puritan religion from one generation to the next. The Reformation had replaced papal authority with Biblical authority, and the latter required a high degree of Biblical literacy. In addition, the Puritan leaders had been impressed with the public schools created by Luther and the German princes as a means of inculcating religious doctrine and maintaining social order in the Protestant states. Also, Harvard College had been founded in 1636, with the aid of a government grant, as a seminary for educating the commonwealth's future leaders, and it was found that a system of lower feeder schools was necessary to help find and develop local talent and to prepare such youngsters for higher studies at Harvard and future careers as magistrates and clergymen.

Thus the common schools of New England, supported by the local communities, came into existence. The Massachusetts law required the creation of common schools in the smaller towns plus grammar schools in the larger towns, where Latin and Greek were to be taught. Latin and Greek were required, as well as Hebrew in the colleges, because these were the original languages of the Bible and of theological literature. All of the schools were strictly local, however—financed locally, and controlled by local committees who set their own standards, chose their own teachers, selected their own textbooks. There was no central authority dictating how the schools were to be run, just as there was no central authority dictating how the local church was to be run. Ministers were elected by their parishioners, and both schoolmasters and clergymen were paid by the towns. But the school laws did not preclude the creation of private schools by private individuals.

Thus, the Biblical commonwealth in the Massachusetts colony was a network of communities linked by a common Calvinist ideology, with a governor and representative legislature overseeing the whole, exercising a civil authority limited by the higher laws of God. The churches ran the towns, and church members ran the legislature. While the ideology was orthodox, the political form was quite democratic. The community conferred authority only on those it elected.

Was this a theocracy? Scholars have never quite been able to decide one way or another, for there was enough of a separation between the civil authority and the clergy to make the colony much less of a theocracy than it has gained a reputation for being. There was no religious hierarchy, and the goveror was purely a civil figure. But one thing we do know is that, of all the English colonies, Massachusetts was the least tolerant of publicly expressed heretical teachings. Were it not for religious reasons, it is doubtful that the Massachusetts legislature would have enacted its school laws, for none of the other colonies, with the exception of Connecticut, enacted such laws. This did not mean that the people in the other colonies were less devout or had less religious content in their education. The other colonies, populated by a variety of sects, simply maintained a greater separation between church and civil authority.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS FLOURISH

The Biblical commonwealth did not last long. The growth of the colony, the development of trade, the influx of other religious sects, the increased general prosperity, and the emergence of religious liberalism tended to weaken the hold of the austere Puritan orthodoxy. Enforcement of the school laws grew lax, and private schools sprang up to teach the more practical commercial subjects. By 1720, for example, Boston had far more private schools than public ones, and by the close of the American Revolution, many towns had no common schools at all.

In drafting its new state constitution in 1780, however, the Massachusetts legislators decided to reinstate the old school laws, primarily to maintain the continuity of its educational institutions. John Adams framed the article that both confirmed the special legal status of Harvard and emphasized the commonwealth's continued interest in public education. The strongest support for the article came from the Harvard-Boston establishment, which wanted to maintain the link between government and school. Harvard had been created with the help of a government grant and had been the recipient of many such grants over the years. In addition, members of the government had been on the Harvard Board of Overseers since 1642. The new constitution maintained the continuity of that relationship.

Connecticut, which had modeled its colonial laws on those of Massachusetts, followed suit and maintained the continuity of its common schools. New Hampshire did similarly. In New York State, the legislature in 1795 appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining schools in its cities and towns. Many towns took advantage of this school fund and established common schools, but these were only partially financed by the state fund. The counties were required to raise matching funds, and tuition was also paid by parents. In addition, wherever state governments showed an interest in promoting schools, private schools were also eligible for subsidies.

At the start of the new nation, Boston was the only American city to have a public school system. But it was hardly a system in today's sense of the word. Primary education was still left to the private dames' schools, and literacy was a requisite for entering the public grammar school at the age of seven. There was, of course, no compulsory attendance law. The pride of the system was the elitist Latin School, which prepared students for Harvard. Most of the children who attended it came from the upper ranks of Boston society. Thus, the public school was not conceived in the post-Revolutionary period as a means of lifting the lowly masses from illiteracy. It was simply an institutional holdover from earlier days. At the same time, private schools were flourishing, and most parents preferred them to the public ones.

For the next 20 years, public and private schools coexisted in Massachusetts,

with the more efficient private sector expanding slowly at the expense of the public sector. Outside of Boston, the growing middle and professional classes were abandoning the dilapidated public schools for the new private academies. Only in Boston did the public schools hold their own, and it was in Boston, in 1818, that the first move to expand the public sector at the expense of the private was made. This was a complete reversal of the general trend away from the public school. The promoters of the move wanted the city to establish a system of public primary schools and phase out the private dames' schools. There were too many delinquent children roaming the streets, they said, and too many poor parents who could not afford to send their children to the dames' schools, thus depriving them of the literacy necessary for entering the public grammar schools.

To find out if this were indeed the case, the school committee appointed a subcommittee to make a city-wide survey of the schooling situation. The survey, the first of its kind ever to be made in this country, revealed some very interesting facts. About 2,360 pupils attended the 8 public schools, but more than 4,000 attended the 150 or so private schools. The survey also revealed that 283 children between the ages of four and seven, and 243 children over seven, attended no school at all. In short, over 90 percent of the city's children attended school, despite the fact that there were no compulsory attendance laws and the primary schools were private. And it was obvious that even if primary education were made public, some parents would still keep their children at home, since there were already in existence eight charity primary schools for poor children. The committee thus recommended against establishing public primary schools, since the vast majority of parents were willing to pay for private instruction and the charity schools were available for those who could not afford to pay anything.

WHY GO PUBLIC?

But the promoters of the public primary schools waged a vigorous campaign in the press. The fact that over 90 percent of the children were in school was to them no cause for rejoicing. They focused on the several hundred who were not. What are those children doing? they asked. Who has charge of them? Where do they live? Why are they not in school? They warned that unless these children were rescued from neglect, they would surely become the criminals of tomorrow, and their cost to society would be far greater than the cost of public primary schools.

What is curious about this campaign is that the promoters never suggested that perhaps the city might subsidize the tuition of children whose parents could not afford to send them to the dames' schools, thereby saving the taxpayers the cost of an entire public primary system. What they insisted on was an expansion of the public school system to include the primary grades, and they would not settle for anything less. Their persistence paid off, and primary education was finally made public. Three of the campaign's most active promoters, in fact, were appointed members of the new primary school committee.

Who were the promoters of this campaign? Why did they wage it with such fervor and determination? And why did they not seek a solution to the problem through private philanthropy or public subsidy, solutions far less costly to the taxpayer? At a time when the public, through its market choices, clearly showed that it favored the private approach to education, why did the promoters insist on an expansion of the public system? I found out the answers to all of these questions, but only after an enormous amount of digging. These questions, of course, had never been raised by previous historians, because to them the expansion of public education was a natural progressive march to democratic equality, as self-obvious as a parade up Fifth Avenue. Their question is usually, Why did it take Americans so long to adopt public education? not, Why did Americans give up educational freedom so early in their history?

At the start of the new nation, Boston was the only American city to have a public school system.

Who were the promoters of the Boston campaign for public primary schools? The names meant nothing to me, and I had to become a historical detective, a tracer of obscure biographical data, before there emerged an interesting pattern that revealed not only a fascinating network of people in action from about 1805 to 1850 but also the ideas that motivated them. It took me a full year to get a handle on all of this, mainly because nothing in my previous reading or education had prepared me for what I was to uncover. Now, after the fact, it doesn't seem quite so earthshaking, but it has so completely changed my view of American and world history that I find it very difficult now to read the standard historical texts without becoming upset. The *distortion* in these texts is so great that it is not really a matter of simply revising history to correct it, but of actually telling it for the first time.

MAN AND GOD

The first 50 years of American history are generally passed over lightly by scholars on their way from the Revolution to the Civil War. We know some general facts about the period: the framing of the Constitution, the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, the Battle of New Orleans, the Jacksonian era. But we are seldom made aware of the incredible intellectual and philosophical changes that were taking place in that transition period from preindustrial to industrial society. The emphasis in the history books is always on political and military events interlaced with material progress: the invention of the steamboat, the development of the railroads, the invention of the cotton gin.

But what also took place during that period was an intellectual event of great importance—probably the most important in American history: the takeover of Harvard by the Unitarians in 1805 and the expulsion of the Calvinists. That takeover made Harvard not only the citadel of religious and moral liberalism but also the citadel of anti-Calvinism. It took me months to understand the significance of all of this because it required a detailed study of Calvinism and the rise of the Unitarian heresy in the heart of the Puritan commonwealth. But when I did, the intellectual history of America suddenly began to make much more sense, for no event has had a greater long-range influence on American intellectual, cultural, and political life than this one.

The issues at stake were fundamental: the nature of God and the nature of man. The liberals, brought up in the moral, benevolent atmosphere of a free, prosperous, ever-expanding society, could no longer accept the Calvinist worldview, which placed the Bible at the center of spiritual and moral understanding. The liberals found the Calvinist doctrines of innate depravity, predestination, election, and reprobation particularly repugnant. Calvin's was a God-centered worldview in which a man's life is determined by his personal relationship to an all-powerful God who had expressed his will in the Old and New Testaments. The Ten Commandments were the essence of God's law. They provided protection to life and property and codified commitment to God and family. They were the restraints that would save men from becoming the victims of their own innate depravity.

The Unitarians rejected all of this. They could not believe in the existence of an unfair, unjust God who elects a few and rejects others, a God who favors some and condemns the rest. Calvin was the first to admit that these doctrines seem

unjust and repugnant, but he answered that God has placed a limit on what man is permitted to know and that man therefore has no choice but to accept God's will as revealed in the Scripture and by the cold facts of life. Those facts include the existence of evil, the sufferings of the innocent, the triumph of tyrants, the general difficulties of the human condition in a world ruled by an omnipotent God who, despite all of this, is still a benevolent God because he created man to begin with.

The Unitarians accepted the notion that God created man, but they also insisted that man was given the freedom to make of his life whatever he can. It is man himself who can decide, through his life on earth, whether he goes to heaven or hell. He is not innately depraved. He is, in fact, rational and perfectible. As for the existence of evil, they believed that it is caused by ignorance, poverty, social injustice, and other environmental and social factors. Education, the Unitarians decided, is the only way to solve the problem of evil. Education will eliminate ignorance, which will eliminate poverty, which will eliminate social injustice, which will eliminate crime. Moral progress is as attainable as material progress once the principles of improvement are discovered.

SECULAR SALVATION

It was therefore only natural that the Unitarians would shift their practice of religion from the worship of a harmless, benevolent God of limited powers to the creation of institutions on earth to improve the character of man. The one institution that the Unitarians decided could be used to carry out this formidable task was the public school. Their first organized effort was the campaign in 1818 to create primary public schools in Boston.

Why only public schools and not private or charity schools? Because private schools were run and controlled by individuals who might have entirely different views concerning the nature of man. Besides, private owners were forced by economic reality to concentrate on teaching skills rather than forming character. As for the church schools, they were too sectarian, and the charity schools were usually run by Calvinists. Only the public schools, controlled in Boston by the affluent Unitarian establishment, could become that secular instrument of salvation.

But why did the first organized effort take place in 1818? Because, at around that time, a man in Scotland had proudly broadcast to the civilized world that he had discovered the basic principle of moral improvement. His name was Robert Owen, and we know of him today as the father of socialism. Owen was a self-made manufacturer who became a social messiah when he "discovered" what he considered to be the basic truth about human character: that a man's character is made for him by society through upbringing, education, and environment—not by himself, as the religionists taught. Children in a cannibal society grow up to be adult cannibals. Children in a selfish, competitive society grow up to be selfish and competitve. No one is innately depraved or evil. An infant is a glob of plastic that can be molded to have whatever character society wishes him to have.

Owen started publishing his ideas in 1813 and, to prove that he was right, in 1816 established his famous Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark. Through a secular, scientific curriculum coupled with the notion that each pupil must strive to make his fellow pupils happy, Owen hoped to turn out little rational cooperative human beings, devoid of selfishness, superstition, and all of the other traits found in capitalist man.

All of these ideas were music to the ears of the Boston Unitarians, who wanted confirmation that man is indeed perfectible through the process of education. But Owen had stressed that the earlier you start training the child the better chance you have to mold his character, which is why the Unitarians launched their campaign to create public primary schools. And this was only the first step, for in 1816 Owen had published an essay outlining a plan for a national system of education whereby the character of a whole nation could be molded to the good of all. He wrote in *A New View of Society*:

> At present, there are not any individuals in the kingdom who have been trained to instruct the rising generation, as it is for the interest and happiness of all that it should be instructed. The training of those who are to form the future man becomes a consideration of the utmost magnitude; for, on due reflection, it will appear that instruction to the young must be, of necessity, the only foundation upon which the superstructure of society can be raised. Let this instruction continue to be left, as heretofore, to chance, and often to the most inefficient members of the community, and society must still experience the endless miseries which arise from such weak and puerile conduct. On the contrary, let the instruction of the young be well devised and well executed, and no subsequent proceedings in the state can be materially injurious. For it may truly be said to be a wonder-working power; one that merits the deepest attention of the legislature; with ease it may be used to train man into a daemon of mischief to himself and all around him, or into an agent of unlimited benevolence.

In 1818, without compulsory attendance laws, over 90 percent of Boston's children attended school.

Thus, socialism began as an educational movement to reform the character of man into "future man"—today we call it Soviet man. Leaving education "to chance" meant leaving it private, and that is why in 1818 the Unitarians insisted on creating public primary schools rather than subsidizing pupils to attend private ones. It was also the beginning of the organized movement that was to culminate in the creation of our compulsory public educational system.

SOCIALIZED EDUCATION

From the very beginning, the Unitarians and socialists were the prime movers and leaders of this long-range sustained effort. Between 1823 and 1825, James G. Carter, a Harvard Unitarian, published a series of essays deploring the general trend away from the common schools and advocating the expansion of public education and the creation of state-supported teachers' seminaries. Owen had stressed the need for such seminaries and in his book called them "the most powerful instrument for good that has ever yet been placed in the hands of man." The Harvard-Unitarian elite gave Carter's proposals their strongest endorsement and widest circulation.

In 1825, Robert Owen came to America to establish his communist colony at New Harmony, Indiana. The experiment received a great deal of newspaper publicity and attracted a large number of followers. It was called "an experiment in social reform through cooperation and rational education." But in less than two years it failed. The problem, Owen decided, was that people raised and educated under the old system were incapable of adapting themselves to the communist way of life no matter how much they professed to believe in it. Therefore, the Owenites decided that rational education would have to precede the creation of a socialist society, and they subsequently launched a strong campaign to promote a national system of education.

Owen's son, Robert Dale Owen, and Frances Wright set up headquarters in New York, helped organize the Workingmen's Party as a front for Owenite ideas, published a radical weekly paper called the *Free Enquirer*, and lectured widely on socialism and national education. Their antireligious views turned so many people

away from Owenism, however, that they were forced to adopt covert techniques to further their ends. One of the men attracted to their cause was Orestes Brownson, a writer and editor, whose remarkable religious odyssey took him from Calvinism to Universalism to socialism to Unitarianism and finally to Catholicism.

Years later, describing his short experience with the Owenites, Brownson wrote:

> But the more immediate work was to get our system of schools adopted. To this end it was proposed to organize the whole Union secretly, very much on the plan of the Carbonari of Europe, of whom at that time I knew nothing. The members of this secret society were to avail themselves of all the means in their power, each in his own locality, to form public opinion in favor of education by the state at the public expense, and to get such men elected to the legislatures as would be likely to favor our purposes. How far the secret organization extended, I do not know; but I do know that a considerable portion of the State of New York was organized, for I was myself one of the agents for organizing it.

So now we know that as early as 1829, the socialists had adopted covert techniques to further their ends in the United States, techniques that they continued to use for decades.

It was also in 1829 that Josiah Holbrook launched the Lyceum movement to organize the educators of America into a powerful lobby for public education. While I have not as yet found absolute evidence that Holbrook was a covert Owenite, circumstantial evidence convinces me that he was. And if the socialists decided to further their cause by working through the instrument of public education, we can then understand why the system has had such a pro-socialist bias for as long as any of us can remember. Indeed, public education was to become the socialists' *primary* instrument for promoting socialism.

UNLIMITED GOOD

In promoting socialism one also promoted the State, for the secular State was to be the primary political instrument for exercising man's rational power. When Frances Wright, the Owenite feminist, lectured in the United States for a national system of education, she left no doubt that the State was to be the ultimate beneficiary of such a system. She wrote in 1829 in the *Free Enquirer*:

> That one measure, by which alone childhood may find sure protection; by which alone youth may be made wise, industrious, moral, and happy; by which alone the citizens of this land may be made, in very deed, *free and equal*. That measure—you know it. It is national, rational, republican education; free for all at the expense of all; conducted under the guardianship of the state, at the expense of the state, for the honor, the happiness, the virtue, the salvation of the state.

But while Josiah Holbrook, with active help from the Unitarians, was organizing the educators through the Lyceum movement, and the Owenites were agitating for a national system of education, the American people were going in the opposite direction. The free market favored private education, and new private academies were springing up all over the country, particularly in Massachusetts, where the town-supported common schools were being abandoned by the middle class (see box).

Thus, had free-market forces been permitted to operate in the educational field without ideological opposition, the common schools would have either disappeared or been reduced to their most rudimentary function as dispensers of free elementary education to a dwindling constituency. In the long run, it would have been more economical for the towns to pay for the tuition of poor children to attend private schools than for the towns to maintain free schools. So the problem was never one of economics; it was, from the very beginning, philosophical.

If both the socialists and the Unitarians embraced educational statism as the future way to human moral progress, it was for two reasons: first, they rejected the Biblical, Calvinist view of man; and second, they rejected the Biblical view of history. Man as sinful and depraved was replaced by man as rational, benevolent, innately good, and perfectible. But the American form of limited government with its elaborate checks and balances had been created on the basis of the Calvinist distrust of human nature. The Calvinists didn't believe that power corrupts man, but that man corrupts power. Man is a sinner by nature and therefore cannot be trusted with power. Only a true fear of God, they believed, can hold sinful man in check.

As the orthodox faith waned in the 19th century and faith in rational man grew, Western culture began to accept a reverse philosophy of human nature. To explain why man does the evil things he does, they turned from theology to psychology. The first scientific attempt to explain the origin of criminal behavior was phrenology, and its teachings had considerable impact on the thinking of many 19th-century educators, including Horace Mann.

As for the Biblical view of history, the Romantic movement projected a new heroic image of man as conqueror and innovator, and mankind was viewed in a universal sense as one big progressive family. Thus was born the myth of moral progress: the idea that man is always getting morally better and better.

The prime modern promoter of this idea was the German philosopher Georg Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), who formulated the dialectical process of human moral progress, a process liberated from the strictures of the Old and New Testaments. He replaced the objectively real God of the Bible with a subjective pantheism in which man is revealed as the high-

For Further Information . . .

Data on the growth of private education during the early 1800s can be found in James G. Carter's *Letters to the Hon. William Prescott, LL.D., on the Free Schools of New England* (1824). Carter was one of the earliest critics of this movement away from public education. He provides interesting insights into the way market choices by parents in the 1820s were leading to the phasing out of public schools in many towns. In his second book, *Essays upon Popular Education* (1826), Carter complained at length about the negative effects the new private schools were having on the common schools. This book is one of the few sources that sheds light on this interesting period of growing educational freedom, when it was clearly demonstrated that in a free market, private enterprise in education could easily compete with free government schools and win.

Additional data about the private schools can be found in a series of articles published in Horace Mann's *Common School Journal* in 1839. The purpose of the articles, "Addressed to the Professional Men of Massachusetts," was to get middle-class parents to withdraw their children from the private schools and enroll them in public ones. Mann's *First Annual Report* (1838) also discussed why parents were abandoning the public schools in favor of private ones. Clearly, the "father" of public education did not give birth to public education but merely revived it from its declining state.

Stanley K. Schultz provides an account of the 1818 campaign in Boston for public primary schools in *The Culture Factory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

est manifestation of God in the universe. Rational, heroic, perfectible man was thus elevated to godlike status, and his secular state was expected to dispense a justice and equality not to be found in the Scriptures. Liberated, unrestrained rational man would create, not unlimited evil as the Calvinists believed, but unlimited good.

FROM HEGEL TO MANN

It was only natural, therefore, that the Harvard-Unitarian elite would look toward Prussia for their statist models. And they found exactly what they were looking for in the Prussian state system of compulsory education, with its truant officers, graded classes, and uniform curriculum. That system had been set up in 1819, and Robert Owen claims in his autobiography that the Prussian system was built on his ideas. Of course, Luther had advocated public schools at the time of the Reformation. But the Prussian system was a model of centralized control, and it had the one feature that Owen considered indispensable for a successful state system: state training schools for teachers. It was acknowledged by the Prussians that you really cannot control education until you control the teachers and their indoctrination. In other words, teachers were to be the front-line troops for statism.

Members of the Harvard-Unitarian elite had acquired a taste for German education while studying in Germany, but Americans had no interest in adopting such a system for themselves. In 1833, however, a French professor of philosophy, Victor Cousin, published a lengthy report on the Prussian system for his own government, which was subsequently translated into English and published in the United States. It was exactly what the public school movement needed, and it was distributed among American educators, who began to arrive at a consensus that the Prussian system was the way to go.

The fact that Cousin had written the report added to its prestige, for Cousin was the main transmission belt of Hegelianism to the Harvard elite. His series of lectures on Hegel's history of philosophy was widely read among the Harvard Unitarians, many of whom became Transcendentalists.

Thus, by the time Horace Mann entered the scene in 1837 as the first secretary of the newly created Massachusetts Board of Education, the groundwork had been thoroughly done by the Owenites, Unitarians, and Hegelians. Mann, a talented lawyer-legislator, was chosen by the Harvard-Unitarian elite to bring educational statism to Massachusetts because he had demonstrated that when it came to legislation, he could give the liberals whatever they wanted. They had enormous confidence in him, and he never disappointed them.

If any single person can claim credit for changing America's social, academic, and ultimately political direction from a libertarian to a statist one, the credit must go to Horace Mann, for it was Mann who was able to overcome the considerable opposition to statism, while others could not. The key to his success was in his peculiar sense of mission, combined with his practical political experience as a legislator and the strong financial, cultural, and social backing of the Harvard-Unitarian elite.

He hated Calvinism with a passion and fought Calvinist opposition with a ferocity that disturbed some, but delighted most, of his Unitarian backers. But he succeeded mainly because he knew how to divide the opposition. By the mid-1830s, even some Trinitarian Protestants were being swayed by German religious liberalism. Also, Protestant leaders like Calvin Stowe and Lyman Beecher, who were based in Ohio, saw in the Prussian educational system a model they could use in their own efforts to maintain the Protestant character of American culture in the face of massive Catholic immigration.

The Harvard-Unitarian elite found exactly what they were looking for in the Prussian state system of compulsory education.

In any case, the backbone of the opposition to educational statism was made up primarily of orthodox Calvinists who feared the long-range antireligious effects of secular public education and favored the decentralized common-school system as it existed before the Board of Education came into being. One of them, Edward Newton, summed it up in these words in the *Christian Witness* in 1844: "We do not need this central, all-absorbing power; it is anti-republican in all its bearings, well-adapted perhaps, to Prussia, and other European despotisms, but not wanted here."

STATISM ENTRENCHED

Despite considerable and continued opposition, all attempts to stop the growth of educational statism failed. Thus, from its very inception educational statism was the prime promoter of statism itself in America. To Mann, the symbol of the triumph of statism was the creation of the first state normal school. The normal school was the state-financed and -controlled teachers' college. No sooner had Mann been appointed secretary of the Board of Education by Gov. Edward Everett than he got to work setting up the first normal school in Lexington. It was done through the financial help of a prominent Unitarian industrialist, whose funds were matched by the state legislature. It was established in 1838 as an experiment. Opposition to the idea of state-controlled teacher training remained strong, until 1845 when the opposition was finally overcome.

In March 1845, the Massachusetts legislature voted to appropriate $5,000 in matching funds to the $5,000 raised by Mann's Harvard-Unitarian friends to build two additional normal schools. In describing the dedication ceremony at one of the schools, Mann wrote this in the *Common School Journal* (Oct. 1, 1846):

> What constituted the crowning circumstance of the whole was, that the Legislature, in making the grant, changed the title or designation of the schools. In all previous reports, laws, and resolves, they had been called "Normal Schools." But by the resolves for the erection of the new houses, it was provided that these schools should thereafter be known and designated as *State* Normal Schools,—the State thus giving to them a paternal name, as the sign of adoption, and the pledge of its affection.

To Mann, who believed the normal school to be "a new instrumentality in the advancement of the race," the linking of State power to teacher education was indeed a crowning circumstance, creating what James G. Carter had described in 1825 as a powerful "engine to sway the public sentiment, the public morals, and the public religion, more powerful than any other in the possession of government." Carter was perfectly right, for once the philosophy of statism is firmly entrenched in a nation's teachers' colleges, that philosophy will very soon permeate every other aspect of society.

The simple truth that experience has taught us is that the most potent and significant expression of statism is a State educational system. Without it, statism is impossible. With it, the State can, and has, become everything. ◻

Samuel L. Blumenfeld is the author of numerous articles and several books, including How to Start Your Own Private School—And Why You Need One *and* The New Illiterates. *As a fellow of the Institute for Humane Studies, he has been preparing a history of public education.*

Illustration by Don Wood

The Wisdom of Disaster

Maybe they do know what they're doing in Washington . . .

by Richard Bach

ALL THIS TIME, I thought, all this time! It's so simple, and they can't understand. How can they be so masked and taped blind, there in Washington? I'm working on biplane engines in the Arizona desert, I don't get reports except what anybody can read in headlines through newsrack windows—I know what's going on in the economy, I know what's going to happen in this country, and they just fumple around there and build card-houses from dollar bills that are crumbling, falling, last-winter leaves. The only thing stable in world trade today is gold, but in Washington they sell our gold away. Last-winter dollar leaves, worth-little dead things, they print more of to make worth less.

Me and the other mechanics and mechanelles, workfolk and playfolk and businessfolk and will-o'-wisp America, it's crystal certain to us they're destroying the nation we called the United States and they don't know what they're doing.

But Thursday last, greasing a rocker-box on a five-cylinder Kinner engine, I was stunned to stars, not even thinking about inflation or the wrack of the country, just slapping grease on rocker arms, when I got this telepathic . . . I'll bet your dime-that-used-to-be-a-dollar it is listed *Extreme Crit Top Secret Single-Copy President's Safe Only*. . . you know what? They are destroying the economy of the United States, all right, but they know *exactly* what they're doing! They've known it all along, since Lyndon Johnson's time; and before much longer you and I are going to hallow their living memories and plant their names in flowers and pat with love our spaceship planet because the crisis is gone and we're going to fly forever.

Shelves of books explain why we're heading for the biggest depression in the history of the world, and it's past arguing: throw money around the way our government has thrown it, even before Vietnam, and you dance with destruction—throw it the way they did in the war and since, and you are openly begging to be destroyed. No government inflates unless somehow it wants to crush itself to powder under the wheel of history.

The date that will last, I think, will be the date that President Nixon closed the gold window, made the dollar officially worth only rainbow words in international trade. Billions will celebrate that day, mark me, and Mr. Nixon will be seen at last as our dear-beloved saint of peace.

I am not gone mad on hot rocker-grease. Let me write the scene that will happen, all in a paragraph, and then you may snip that paragraph, press it under coffee-table glass to read a year from now in delighted wonder.

We are right quick going to have our world's greatest depression, stock market down to 200 Dow-Jones, unenlightened folk jumping out of windows and so on. . . it will look bad for three or four days. End of four days, the Japanese and the Swiss buy up all the American banks. A bank can no more hang CLOSED FOREVER on its front door than Sumitomo and Credit Suisse appear with friendly smile and impossible generous offer, cash. The banks get saved. End of five days, the Germans are buying our automobile factories, the Poles and Chinese our heavy-industry plants, British and French the aircraft companies, Russians the electronics and communications, Arabs the oil fields, Southeast Asians the farms and casinos. . . goes on like that. The Dow-Jones is swept up in flash-flood money, and everybody else across the world owns America.

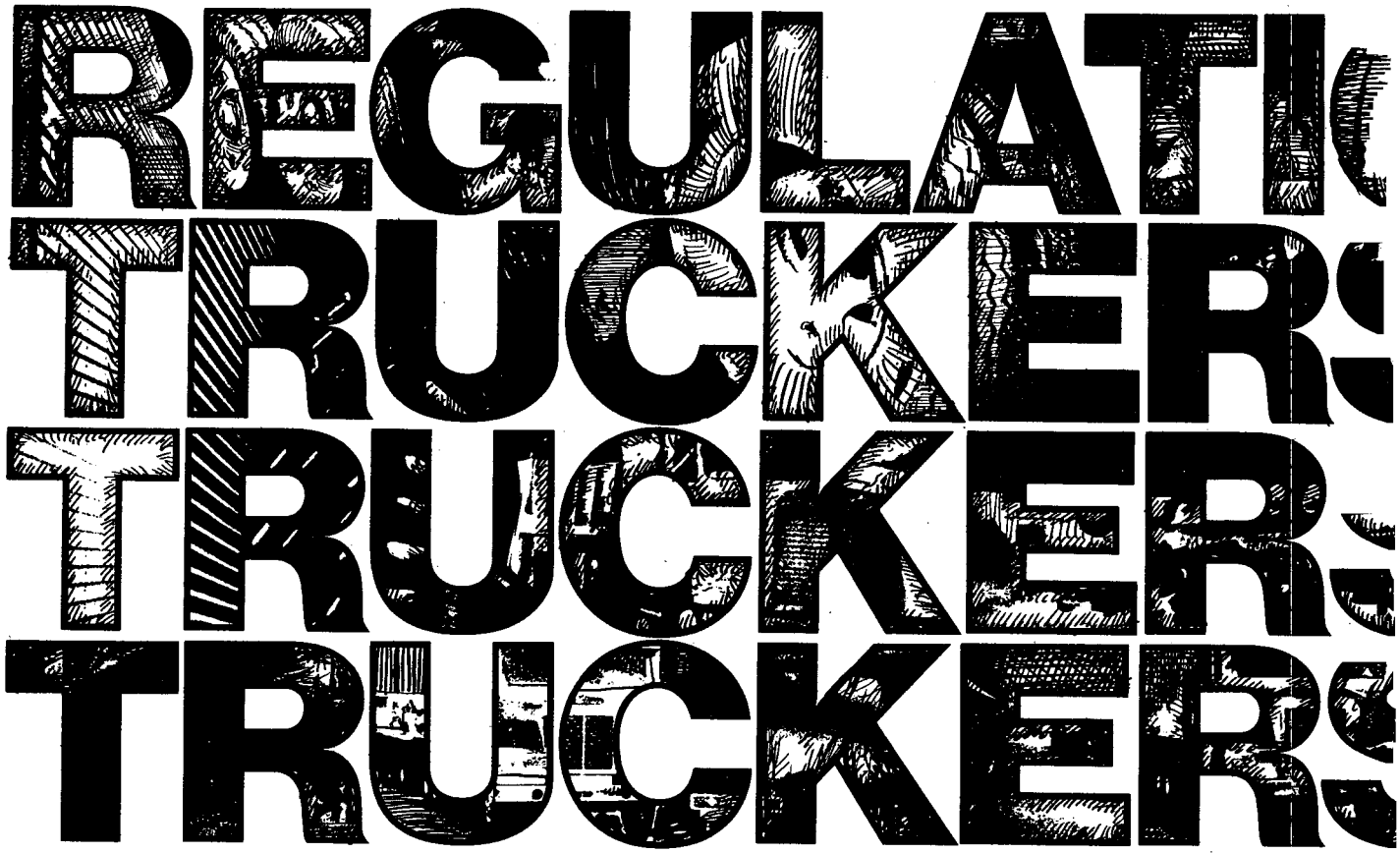
Arms race? Missiles? Neutron bombs? Threats of superwars? Nope. Junked. Useless. You think the Russians and the Chinese and the Vietnamese are going to bomb their own glamour-stocks? They going to shoot neutrons all over their own Iowa cornfields, gamma-ray their California riceland, the million-acre properties they've just spent billions to possess? They going to roll down from the sky to attack their own tourists at Disney World, burn the Politburo's Long Island summer-cottages?

Not, as we mechanics say, very likely. Week after that, we take all the money they've invested to own us and we go buy our summer houses on the Black Sea, and finally comes the day we can't recall what China was like before Colonel Sanders raised that first modest awning in Peking.

The money the world doesn't spend on bombers, we spend on airlines; our missile-billions we spend on space-cities instead, and we got so many adventures to build we can't walk for the clutter of help-wanted signs, and we're answering ads for hands needed at the Earth Colony south of Syrtis Major, Mars. Not the American Colony, mind; not the Russian Colony; not the Chinese—the Earth Colony.

All this time. . . Those aren't blind clods in Washington. Somebody far-sighted had to take the step that the United States is taking now; one brave superpower had to take a deep breath and deliberately wreck its economy in order that all the others could buy in through DEWlines and iron curtains and nation-boundaries that would have had us gnashing at each other till the world blew up. Hurray for us, our elected Congresses, our presidents! God bless you, Richard Nixon! ◻

Richard Bach is the author of Jonathan Livingston Seagull, A Gift of Wings, *and* Illusions.



ICC regulation benefits the trucking industry, but every dollar gained by the industry costs consumers thirty.

BY JOHN SEMMENS

OSTENSIBLY, the point of regulation is to protect the economically powerless from the predations of the economically powerful. As a matter of fact and history, though, the actual effects of regulation have been exactly the opposite. Producers have gained, and consumers have lost. Some critics, noticing this, berate members of regulatory commissions for lack of competence or lack of integrity. It may be true that, in general, regulators have lacked competence or, occasionally, integrity. But the consistent pattern of producer protection provided by the various regulatory commissions renders such an explanation improbable or, at best, incomplete.

A more likely explanation is that the effects of regulation are the intended ones, that the actions carried out under regulatory policy are neither accidental nor incidental. When made in this light, evaluation of the consequences of regulatory policies will prove more fruitful. And we can dispense with the pointless focus, incumbent within reform proposals, upon appointing "better" regulators and exhorting them to overcome what must now be viewed as the natural proclivities of the regulatory machine—to establish and maintain industry cartels designed to exploit the consumers for the benefit of members of the select group of producers. Understanding the producer-protection intent of the law allows us to translate otherwise inexplicable and bizarre rules and procedures into coherent ploys to promote the interests of specific classes of beneficiaries.

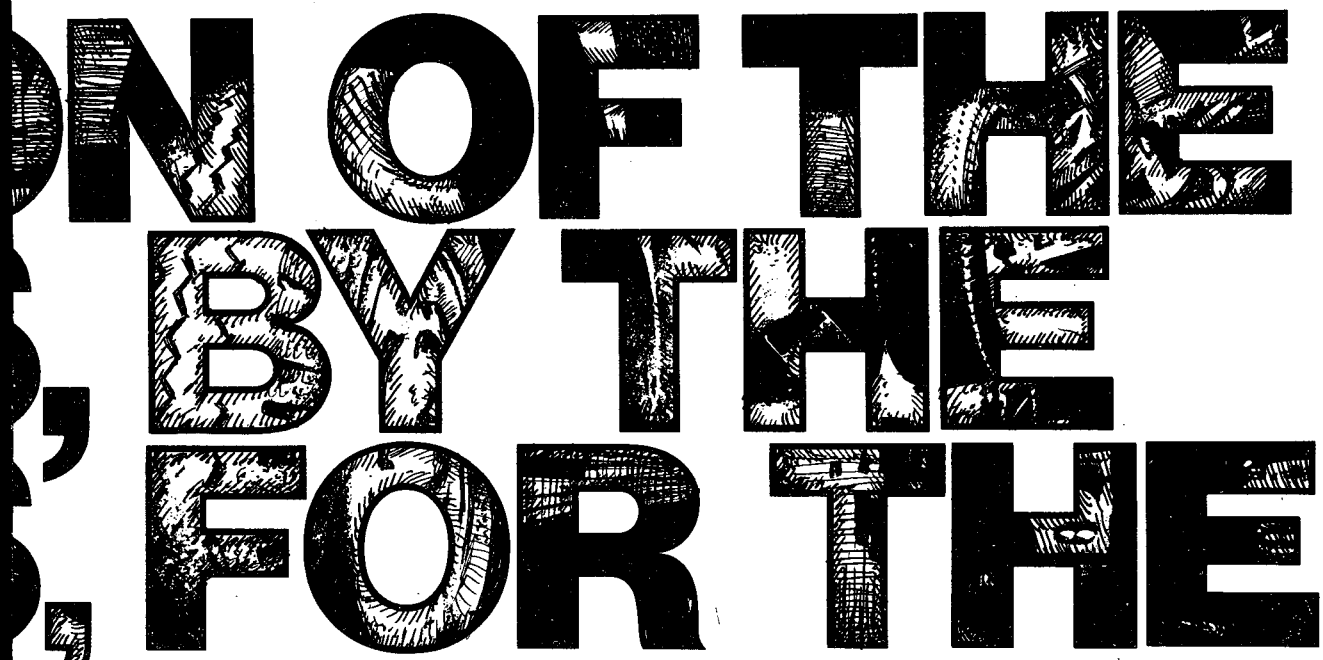
WASTE MAKES WEALTH?

The social cost of the regulation of trucking has been estimated at amounts ranging up to $15 billion per year. This is, of course, a *net* figure, reflecting the aggregate loss to society. Undisclosed by such a figure is the transfer of wealth that motivates the regulatory policy. This is not to say that this transfer must be large. The beneficiary of strong-arm tactics will be quite willing to inflict damages far in excess of his own profit as long as such burdens fall upon others—a mugging victim's hospital bills may far exceed the cash intake of the mugger. That so little may be gained at such great expense is the most galling feature of the whole regulatory scheme.

For example, if the reported net worth of all regulated motor carriers is approximately $4 billion and the excess return earned as a result of regulation is as much as 8 percent (as estimated by the Council on Wage and Price Stability), the total monopoly gain to the regulated carriers would be only $300 million. The regulations' estimated net cost to society, however, is at least 30 times as large as any possible gain to these beneficiaries.

It would obviously be less burdensome to the general welfare if the rather inefficient transfer mechanism via the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) were dispensed with and a direct cash payment substituted. Such an open subsidy would not prove politically palatable, however, since there is hardly anyone who would feel either morally or socially obligated to supplement the income of trucking firms or their suppliers. Instead, we must suffer the waste of $30 for each $1 gained by the beneficiaries of an elaborate system required by the necessity to disguise the ultimate objective.

Naturally, defenders of regulation are ready to deny and refute any contention either that costs exceed benefits or that the few gain at the great expense of the many. They characterize the existing regulatory scheme as "fair," "equitable," and "necessary." Unfortunately, the input of the pro-regulators has rarely gone beyond mere assertions. The exceptions to this are all too frequently exercises in sophistry, inapt analogy, and shoddy arithmetic. A classic demonstration of fi-



nancial error and ineptitude was the report "A Cost and Benefit Evaluation of Surface Transport Regulation," prepared by the ICC. Among other things, this report maintained that equity capital was less expensive to obtain than borrowed funds because the interest rate on debt was 10 percent while the dividends paid on stock amounted to less than 5 percent. Cornell University professor of business Harold Bierman avowed that any student making such a blatant error as this would receive an F for his course.

DOLLARS AT STAKE

Monopoly profits do exist in regulated motor carriage, and the proof of their existence is the tangible value of the operating rights held by these firms. Such rights, when sold, generally command a price equivalent to 15-20 percent of the revenue generated. Based on recent aggregate revenues of the 1,700 largest regulated carriers—approximately $20 billion per year —the estimated value of all operating rights amounts to between $3 and $4 billion. A 10 percent return on total capital for these monopoly rights puts their annual yield between $300 and $400 million (an amount in line with our earlier estimate of possible monopoly profits). By way of illustration, in 1967 Eazor Express acquired operating rights from Fleet Highway Freight Lines for $260,000. In 1973, Eazor sold these same rights to Yellow Freight System for $860,000. No other assets exchanged hands. The price paid and the mark-up achieved over a six-year period are attributable solely to the value of the operating right. Even the industry lobby admits that "experience has indicated that not only carriers with viable profitable operations, but also carriers with poor operating results and even carriers in or near bankruptcy are able to demand and obtain prices for their operating rights far in excess of the cost of such authorities carried on their books."

Operating rights have a tangible value precisely because the ICC limits competition. This permits the exaction of monopoly profits, the existence of which serves as the reason for, as well as the means of, payment of huge sums for the rights. The instrumentality by which competition is restricted is primarily the issuance of certificates of public convenience and necessity. No common carrier can operate without such a certificate. No common carrier can exceed the limitations of his certificate.

Certificates are not easy to come by, notwithstanding ICC disclaimers to the opposite effect. Despite the fact that 80 percent of the applications for new or extended authority are approved by the ICC, the majority of existing authority is "grandfathered" — that is, based on routes in existence *before 1935.*

A firm seeking ICC approval to carry on a freight business must prove that the public convenience and necessity *requires* such service. Proving this is not easy, since any not-yet-existing service cannot have established much of a track record. Even should a record of service be established, it in itself is not considered sufficient to prove a public *need* for it. In the case of *Inland Motor Freight et al.* vs. *US* (1945), the courts upheld Inland's protest against a certificate issued by the ICC to John Tocco despite a showing of seven and a half years of service and testimony from shippers asserting a need for the service.

Furthermore, even if there is a need for service, existing carriers must be afforded the opportunity to provide such service before any new carrier can be granted authority. In the *J. H. Rose Truck Line* case decided by the ICC in 1969, the commission held that shipper dissatisfaction with existing carriers and preference for the Rose Company's through service and better rates were not adequate reasons to deny the existing carriers their exclusive franchise in the area. This procedure enables the ICC to carry out its objective, "*to ensure that no new service is being created* without a finding of public need."

How, then, do we reconcile the touted 80 percent approval rate for new applications with the stated objective of preventing "unneeded" (that is, unauthorized) service? Well, most of the new operating authorities are minor, specific, and narrow grants. The previously mentioned *Rose Truck Line* case, for example, involved authority to haul blowers, blower parts, blower accessories, and supplies used in the installation of blowers between Roselle, Illinois, and locations in 22 other states. Carting blowers strikes us as a rather narrowly circumscribed occupation. The 20 percent of applications denied may be of much greater significance than the 80 percent approved. Indicative of this is the admission by the American Trucking Associations (ATA) that the only sure way of getting into a market is to purchase the operating authority from an existing carrier.

WILLFUL WASTE

After establishing the framework for the perpetuation of an exclusionary cartel, the specific measures for the exaction of the group's monopoly profits come into play. Restriction of entry by itself has the effect of an externally imposed limitation on the supply of transport services. Artificially curtailed supply will enable the authorized suppliers to enforce higher prices. Rate bureaus provide the mechanism whereby this is accomplished. These bureaus, exempt from antitrust laws, are

quite free to fix the prices of freight service. Theoretically, any carrier is allowed to "flag out," that is, set his own rate. More realistically, however, independent rate setting is not allowed if the rate is perceived as a threat to the existing status of the industry. The virtually absolute stranglehold over rates thus maintained is well illustrated by the infamous *Yak Fat* case, wherein a facetiously requested rate for a nonexistent product was immediately protested by "competitors" and subsequently disallowed by the ICC.

Unfortunately for the regulated carrier cartel, their monopoly is not complete. This is not for want of trying. Most probably it can be attributed to the counterforce of powerful opposing interest groups. Two major exceptions to the complete monopolization of motor carriage are the classes of exempt commodities and the existence of private carrier fleets. The exempt commodities consist largely of raw agricultural products. The two notable nonagricultural commodities exempt from regulation are fresh fish and newspapers. In the light of the reputed deficiencies of regulated carrier service, it is understandable that items likely to raise a stink or become quickly useless are exempt. The private carrier fleets making up the other exception are owned and operated by large corporations. Thus, both the agriculture lobby and big business have been able to forestall the total monopolization of the motor transport industry.

This is not to say that some substantial burdens have not been imposed upon these alternative transport options. The most obvious burden placed upon private carriers and haulers of exempt commodities is the deadhead (empty) backhaul. The very nature of private and exempt carriage is conducive to traffic imbalances. A hauler of farm produce will rarely encounter a load of vegetables, or the like, to be transported from an urban location back to the farm. Private carriers restricted to transporting only their own products or raw materials will rarely have their plants or sources so conveniently located as to balance their traffic. It should not be surprising, then, that these unregulated carriers consistently endure a greater proportion of empty miles than the regulated carriers.

Imposition of the uncompensated expense of the empty backhaul is no mere quirk of fate. The policy is fully intentional. A private or exempt carrier cannot hire out to a regulated carrier for a backhaul, since ICC rules set a minimum 30-day term for hiring-out arrangements. Neither can a private carrier haul goods for a subsidiary or parent of the same corporate family. Shippers cannot even arrange to lease trucks in complementary-goods movements if the motive is to reduce the transportation costs of deadheading. In *Keller Industries* vs. *US* (1971), the reviewing court found that a cooperative leasing agreement "eliminates almost altogether one of the awful burdens of a carrier—that of the deadhead backhaul. Indeed, this was the genesis of the plan." The court then ruled that the fact of the avoidance of the burden of the empty backhaul *was sufficient reason by itself* to disallow the arrangement. Some private and exempt carriers have sought contract carrier status in order to utilize their otherwise empty backhauls. In spite of the fact that there are shippers standing ready to purchase this contract carriage, the ICC has consistently denied permits for this purpose. So befuddled have the public officials become over this issue that we find the US Department of Transportation facing the "dilemma" of "what mechanism would allow improved utilization while protecting the public interest." We may well ask, What is this "public interest" that stands in opposition to the more efficient employment of transportation resources?

Defenders of regulation are ready to deny any contention that the few gain at the great expense of the many.

Elimination of these restrictions could reduce total private and exempt carrier miles by around 30 percent. With total revenue miles of the largest regulated carriers around $15 billion and regulated carriers accounting for 40 percent of the revenue ton miles, the potential saving in miles driven by nonregulated carriers would approach $7 billion per year. If exempt carrier expenses are only 40 percent as large as regulated carrier expenses, then the dollar cost of these restrictions could amount to more than $3 billion per year. This cost alone is nearly 10 times the amount of monopoly profits enjoyed by the regulated motor carrier industry. Such figures serve as a measure of the lengths to which the regulatory mechanism will go in order to preserve a much smaller increment of monopoly profit for members of the regulated cartel.

OFFICIOUS OBFUSCATION

Of course, the very existence of a regulatory bureaucracy serves as a fundamental element in the deterrence of threats to the inner circle of protected carriers. To outsiders (that is, most of the victims of regulatory practices), the workings of the ICC can often appear mysterious, confusing, and unnerving. Words take on different and obscure meanings within the context of the regulatory agency. Proceedings take on the appearance of ritualistic ceremonies of complex and drawn-out maneuvers. An aura of unpredictability is propagated and nurtured.

The main thrust of ICC motor carrier regulation is to guard against the evils of "destructive competition" that would lead to "chaos." The notion of destructive competition has long since been discredited by reputable economists. It has meaning only in the sense that nearly all businessmen would appreciate less intense competition in their own lines of endeavor. Thus, "destructive competition" only occurs in one's own industry, whereas "healthy competition" is what the economy needs more of in other industries. "Chaos" is even more nebulous. It is what took place before the ICC took motor carriers under its wing in 1935. Of course, the years immediately preceding 1935 saw the United States in the depths of the Great Depression. The implication that deregulation of motor carriers now would bring about a depression is a useful weapon to employ in resistance to increased competition. What "chaos" really means, though, is that common carriers would be required to manage in the same type of legal environment as other unprotected firms. No longer would the industry be able to fix prices, exclude new entrants, or restrict the options of their customers.

Aside from redefining the language to suit its own needs, the regulatory bureaucracy will frequently make bizarre or inexplicable statements. This serves the dual purpose of giving critics another erroneous assertion to refute and convincing others that the whole issue of regulatory policy is hopeless because the regulators are so incredibly dense that no headway can be made. A recent ICC complaint about the evils of unregulated carriage opined that "rates are low when competition is keen, high when the demand for service is great." The fact that this is precisely the way the free market is supposed to work, juxtaposed with the commission's apparent ignorance to that effect, is a perfect example of a phenomenon bound to confuse and dismay regulation's critics.

Complex plans to simulate or approximate free-market conditions within the framework of regulation—by collecting statistics, comparing them to some unspecified "norm," and then "fine tuning" policy accordingly—are excellent diversionary ploys. It becomes incumbent upon the *critics* to show why these crackpot schemes can't work before any steps toward deregulation can be taken.

A recent recommendation to the ICC speculated that "if the Commission was able to construct an economic model

which would empirically estimate the supply and demand relationships for a particular transportation corridor and for various commodities within the corridor, the Commission would have additional data, independent of the representations made by the parties involved in a case. These data would allow the Commission to judge more precisely how many carriers and how much service would be necessary to meet the expected demand." It is probably safe to assume that the government will rush off to spend millions in an attempt to develop this type of model, without the slightest awareness of the idiocy of a plan to artificially anticipate (at great expense) what the free market performs on a "real time" basis at no extra charge. Needless to say, the supply of such plans is infinitely elastic.

Then, too, regulation thrives on creating uncertainty. Businessmen normally will seek to minimize uncertainty, but having to deal with a regulatory agency can be very unsettling in this regard. The law governing the ICC commands that its actions be "just and reasonable." Yet, it is left up to the commission to define these terms. Determination of what is and what isn't permitted within an authorized certificate is entirely at the discretion of the ICC; contradictory interpretations are disallowed, even though they may appear to be reasonable under the original terms of the grant. The commission may even modify certificates after their issuance, regardless of the elapsed time involved.

An example of this disconcerting procedure was experienced by Crescent Express Lines. In 1938 the ICC granted the company authority to operate between New York City and Woodbourne, New York, including off-route points within 20 miles of Woodbourne. More than three years later this was amended by the ICC to cover only nonscheduled, door-to-door service, and not more than six passengers at any one time. Through it all, of course, the burden of proof is on those who would challenge the commission's rulings.

Those unfamiliar with the intricate procedures may well be intimidated by the expense and the unpredictability of the outcome. If an application for a new service is contested, the problem of proving that the service is required confronts the would-be carrier. Even if an application is uncontested, the ICC still has "lingering doubts" as to whether the grant of a certificate is in the public interest.

Naturally, the commission also seeks to cast a cloud of doubt over the legitimacy of all nonregulated carriage. Any private or exempt carrier must behave in ultra-conservative fashion, lest he be hauled into an expensive and time-consuming regulatory hearing over the acceptability of some or all of his business activities. In the *Schenley Distillers* case (1946), the court asserted that the only proper way for Schenley to determine whether its private carriage arrangements were legal, would have been to file for ICC authority and request that the filing be dismissed as "not required."

MOTIVE FOR MADNESS

It is clear that the instrumentality of regulation rather consistently imposes burdens on the many for the sake of the advantage of the few. This objective is implemented through various measures designed to deter or prohibit unauthorized competition. Yet the gain in monopoly profits is so small compared to the costs inflicted upon society in general. What explanation can there be for a public policy so inordinately oppressive to the general welfare?

Common carriers have purchased regulation as a vehicle for the transfer of wealth from consumers to themselves.

Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the waste is divided amongst all consumers, while the smaller sum of benefits is shared in by a lesser number of recipients. On the earlier estimates of $10 billion for the extra costs imposed by regulation and $300 million for the monopoly gains, we obtain a ratio of $30 of waste for each $1 of monopoly profit generated by the system. Based on a US population of 216 million (though, in truth, all consumers of US goods, foreign and domestic, share unequally in the burden), the cost per person for motor carrier regulation is about $45 per year. If there are 15,000 regulated carriers sharing equally in the monopoly profits, the gain per carrier per year would be about $20,000. If we were to restrict the number of recipients to only those larger carriers upon which the estimate of monopoly profits was based, the share per carrier shoots up to $175,000 per year.

It seems, then, that the financial incentives for the beneficiaries of motor carrier regulation to insure its continuation may be substantially more potent than the financial incentives for each of the regulation's victims to bring about its demise. One is more apt to attempt to influence policies in which one has a large personal stake. Quite simply, then, the beneficiaries of the regulatory scheme are more disposed to outbid the victims in the political arena. Disclosures in the Korean bribery scandal have revealed how easily bought and reasonably priced a congressman's influence may be. At such prices, $300-$400 million in monopoly profits can go a long way, whether used for the more legitimate "campaign contributions" or the less reputable "compensation for personal services." The fact of the matter is that common carriers have purchased regulation as a vehicle for the transfer of wealth from consumers to themselves.

In the light of this most tangible quid pro quo between the members of the industry and the lawmakers, it is easier to comprehend why appeals based upon rationality or simple justice—to reduce waste or to preserve the right of peaceful persons to pursue a living in the occupation of their choice—must fall upon deaf ears. ☐

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Coming Next Month:

This fall the Space Shuttle Enterprise will make its first launch, ushering in a new era of low-cost space travel. What direction will that road take—toward more government control or toward a "new industrial revolution" led by private enterprise? These issues are explored in REASON's April issue. Editor Robert Poole, Jr. takes a look at past government efforts to boost new technology and makes a strong case for getting government *out* of space industrialization. J. Peter Vajk confronts the argument that space colonization is the only way out for an overpopulated, resource-short Earth—and finds it dead wrong. And former astronaut Philip K. Chapman presents a first-hand report on a bold new effort to set up a *private* space launch center. Also in the issue: an appreciation of Benjamin Tucker's classic periodical *Liberty*, a critical look at the voting process, and a thought-provoking article on who it is that *really* builds automobiles. Plus Jim Davidson's Viewpoint and Mark Tier's Money column.

Psychiatry's Sacred Cow

THOMAS SZASZ AND THE MYTHOLOGY OF MENTAL ILLNESS

by M.E. Grenander

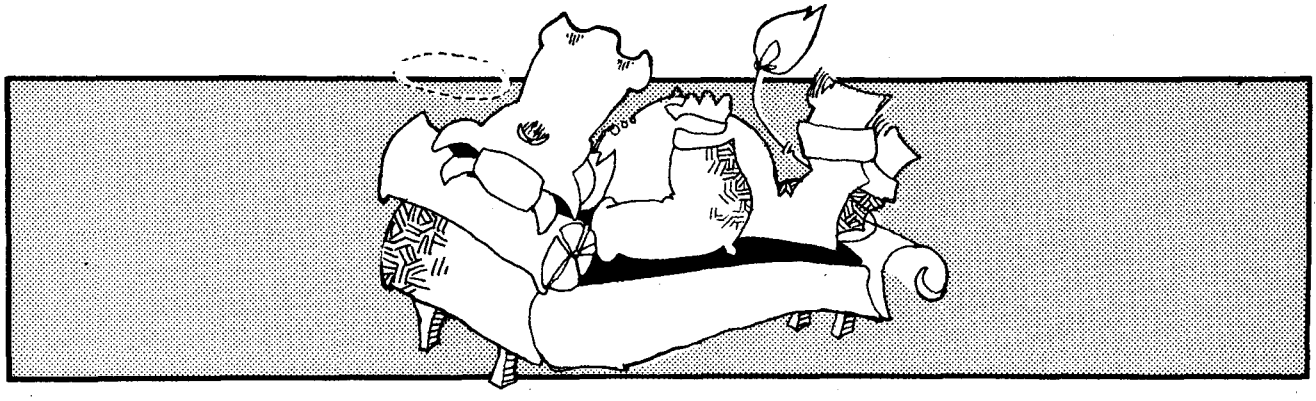

Illustration by Lisa Quackenbush

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL PSYCHIATRIST writing today is the psychoanalyst Thomas Szasz, a professor at the Upstate Medical Center in Syracuse, New York. A very prolific author, he has devoted 15 books and almost 300 articles to arguing, with acute logic and devastating wit, that both mental illness and psychotherapy are myths.

Over a decade ago, New York State's commissioner of mental hygiene tried to get Szasz fired for espousing and developing these radical ideas. The attempt was unsuccessful, and his case became a classic illustration of the principles of academic freedom. As the American Association of University Professors demonstrated, a faculty member holding tenure —as Dr. Szasz did—could not be dismissed simply because his ideas are heretical.

Why was there such a furor over Szasz's scholarly investigations? The answer lies in a fundamental distinction between two kinds of myths: empty myths and loaded myths.

MYTHS DEAD AND ALIVE

An "empty" myth is one that was originally believed in implicitly but one that, as the slow centuries roll past, loses its literal import, retaining only its shell. We derive empty myths from cultures distant from our own, either anthropologically or through the lapse of time. Myths transplanted from such remote origins die: Adam and Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden, King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, American Indian legends, the gods and heroes of the Norse Eddas, the legendary Doctor Faustus, and the witches of 17th-century Salem.

But good myths, when they die, go to heaven, and periodically their restless spirits revisit the earth, often calling on poets and musicians. By an effort of imagination, these artists imbue the ghostly shells of their visitors with a fantasy life, as Christopher Marlowe, John Milton, Goethe, Richard Wagner, Arthur Miller, and many others have done.

Mythological meanings, however, are always symbolic, and symbols can mean different things to different people. Are we to follow George Bernard Shaw—and apparently Patrice Chéreau—in interpreting Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelungen* as a study of 19th-century industrialism? The novel interpretations of the young French director who recently mounted a new production of Wagner's opera at Bayreuth antagonized large segments of his audience, including many critics. They were irate because they cherished their own familiar meanings in Wagner's music drama.

Since most of us, when we think about mythology, probably have in mind empty myths, the reason for this digression is to emphasize that another kind of myth exists. It can be called the loaded myth, for it is anything but empty and anything but metaphorical. It cannot be treated symbolically because everyone believes it to be literally true. It is accepted unthinkingly as part of the value system by which we live, and we do not even recognize its mythic quality.

Loaded myths are very much alive; they are not spirits roaming the earth looking for a meaning. They are only incidentally the stuff of which art is made, for they constitute the warp and woof of the entire fabric of a society—its laws, its government, its education, its mores, even its religion and its ethical system. Nobody wonders how to interpret a loaded, living myth; its meaning is self-evident. And only someone who has enormous courage dares to raise the question of the genesis, significance, and consequences of a living myth and to grapple with the difficult answers.

MYTHS FOR PERSECUTION

The reason it is so dangerous to tackle a living myth is that its validity is tied up with the professional livelihood of large numbers of influential people. Loaded myths serve a social function, often the sinister one of furnishing scapegoats: sacrificial beasts on whom the rest of us can

load the onerous burden of our sins, driving these unfortunate animals forth into the wilderness.

But this itself is an empty, dead myth, since for centuries "scapegoats" have not been animals at all. They have been human beings whom we want to punish for our own problems by exiling them to a metaphorical wilderness. In order to do that, we must strip them of all their rights and privileges as people like us. They must be authenticated as somehow "different"—like George III's German mercenaries during the American Revolution—so that we can excuse ourselves for treating them as less than human.

Every society authenticates its scapegoats through the activities of a professional class that is richly rewarded and given enormous power and influence. The myths it employs, since they are believed in as literally true, are as loaded as any gun. When someone who has the power to use them aims at a human target and pulls the trigger, the person hit is destroyed as surely as if he had been shot. We need look no further than Verdi's *Il Trovatore* for a dramatic illustration of how the belief in a loaded myth like witchcraft destroyed not only the poor gypsy who was burned alive but also, with grim irony, the family of her persecutor.

This, then, is the kind of myth that Thomas Szasz has been attacking. He argues that "mental illness" is a secular myth. Just as witchcraft was created by a priestly class in a culture that valued religion, so mental illness is created by a psychiatric class in a culture that values science. Both myths were developed and supported by professional classes in order to justify society's persecution of the weak and powerless.

The hypocrisy of this persecution is indicated by the fact that it is disguised as benevolence. The inquisitor who tortured his victim to death claimed that he was saving her soul. The psychiatrist who tortures his victim in a living death claims that he is saving her mental health. In both cases, the myth is cloaked in the mantle of a culture whose values are unquestioned.

LOADED SCIENCE

How, in 17th-century Salem, could one doubt the validity of religion? How, in the 20th century, can one doubt the values of science? But in neither instance does the myth have anything to do with the values under which it masquerades. Witchcraft was a perversion of religion; pinning psychiatric labels on those we want to degrade, a perversion of science. Szasz maintains that the myth of mental illness, in welfare bureaucracies no less than in totalitarian states, is used to control behavior perceived not only as dangerous but even as merely aberrant or eccentric. More fundamentally, the redefinition of evil as mental illness has not caused its disappearance; it has merely altered its mythology and replaced the clergy as its controlling profession with psychiatrists.

For Szasz, the mythology of mental illness is, in the terminology of Francis Bacon, today's most potent Idol of the Market-Place. "Mental illness" is a metaphor—or, as Bacon would say, a phantom or false appearance—that has become mistaken for reality and that supports the false "science" of psychiatry. It is a myth created by psychiatrists to lend medical respectability and an aura of objectivity to their work.

Although Szasz readily admits that the *brain* can suffer impairment, the "mind," he believes, since it is incorporeal, cannot have a disease as an organ of the body can.

Macbeth's question illustrates the human desire to transform questions of good and evil into questions of health and disease.

Nevertheless, problems in living or difficulties of communication do indeed exist, as Szasz also readily admits. But treating them by physiological tinkering is analogous to calling for the television repairman when we do not like the programs relayed to our home screens. Consequently psychiatry, although it presents itself as science and follows a medical model, is really *scientism*. This phenomenon, which a growing number of modern thinkers, both scientists and humanists, are increasingly concerned about, is the misuse of scientific methods in disciplines where they are not really applicable.

In order to strip away the mask of scientism, revealing psychiatry's true features, Szasz discriminates between *being sick*—an abnormal physiological condition—and *being a patient*—a status. Although the two are often confused, they are not the same, and they need not even coincide. An ailing Christian Scientist may refuse to play the role of a patient. Conversely, an erring delinquent may not be physiologically ill, but he may be forced to play the social role of "mental patient."

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GAINING CONTROL

By blurring the distinction between being sick and being a patient, the mental health ideology, Szasz believes, furnishes an excuse for controlling deviants, troublemakers, or simply burdensome individuals. A society that does not want to confront its moral, social, and political problems can evade them by creating a set of scapegoats, characterizing those whose behavior is a nuisance as "mentally ill" and locking them up.

So pervasive has this scapegoating become that it has even infiltrated our courts. Since loaded myths are clearly perceived as valuable tools of authority, the State's legal machinery grinds more easily when professional myth-makers are cogs in its wheels. Thus, just as clergymen played a vital role in the inquisition of witches, so forensic psychiatrists today play a vital role in our system of criminal justice.

Accordingly, accused lawbreakers frequently lose their legal rights under Anglo-American law. Without ever having been found guilty, they can be, and often are, incarcerated for indeterminate periods because psychiatrists, acting in collusion with lawyers and judges, have pronounced them incompetent to stand trial. Even more appalling, if they are tried, they may be saddled with an "insanity defense" resulting in "acquittal"—a hypocritical verdict leading, not to freedom, but to punitive incarceration, often for life, in a mental hospital. This is what happened in both of the famous medico-legal cases on which the insanity defense is based—*M'Naghten*, in England, and *Durham*, in the United States.

In his discussion of psychiatric nosologies, Szasz points out that all classification aims to control the objects classified. Psychiatric nosology has included such classifications as homosexuality, masturbation, drug addiction, and suicide. Such labels imposed on involuntary clients warrant their treatment as objects or things rather than as autonomous individuals. Hence, these classifications are used to stigmatize and control the persons to whom they are applied. When we realize that medical diagnoses classify *diseases* but that psychiatric diagnoses classify *behavior*, we can understand the point of Szasz's demonstration that "mental illness" is not physiological impairment but a way of living. The medical physician di-

(*Continued on p. 34.*)

The Rise and Fall of the LOCO-FOCOS

by John McClaughry

An anti-monopoly, hard-money movement enjoyed a brief moment of glory in the 1830s.

IT IS AN OCTOBER EVENING in 1835, and the adherents of the New York Democracy are eagerly milling about before the doors of Tammany Hall. For those doors are about to open, and the party will then convene, name its chairman, and adopt its platform.

The hour of seven o'clock arrives. The doors swing open, and a torrent of excited humanity pours into the old meeting house. The hour is at hand for the adoption of resolutions damning the unholy alliance of State and Monopolists which has crushed the small businessman, mechanic, artisan, and workingman under a burden of special privilege and manipulated debt.

But wait! The multitude are not yet in their seats, but George D. Strong, president of the Commercial Bank, has already nominated bank director Isaac L. Varian for chairmanship of the meeting! The bankers have rigged the meeting! But the Equal Rights Democracy is equal to the occasion. Before the eyes of the multitude a banner unfolds, bearing the slogan "Joel Curtis—the Anti-Monopolist Chairman." The invincible leader of the people, Alexander Ming, Jr., demands that a vote be taken, and the walls echo with cries of "Curtis! Curtis! Curtis!"

Isaac L. Varian, in temporary possession of the rostrum, is helpless to restore order. Nervously he devises a plan to escape the platform but is restrained by bank president Strong. As they jostle, the chair is overturned, and quick as the bullet from Andy Jackson's dueling pistol, the true-hearted workingman Joel Curtis leaps to the rostrum. A great cheer goes up. The people of the Democracy have slain the demon of Monopoly in its very temple!

Varian and Strong disappear down the back stairs from whence they came. A moment later, the great hall lapses into darkness. The scoundrels! They have doused the gas lights on their precipitate flight from the scene of their defeat. But the Equal Rights Democracy is once again prepared. "Let there be light!" shouts the redoubtable Ming, and as if by magic the members of the Equal Rights Democracy bring forth the new strike-anywhere "Loco-Foco" matches and ignite candles brought for just such a contingency. The last foul strategy of demon Monopoly has been vanquished!

FREE AND EQUAL

And then, in the candle-lit auditorium, amid ringing huzzas that shake Old Tam-[illegible]y to its foundations, the [illegible]qual Rights Democracy of New York City endorses the anti-monopoly Democratic ticket and adopts a host of thunderous resolutions:

Resolved: That in a free state, all distinctions but those of merit are odious and oppressive, and ought to be discouraged by a people jealous of their liberties.

That all laws which directly or indirectly infringe the free exercise and enjoyment of equal rights and privileges by the great body of the people, are odious, unjust, and unconstitutional in their nature and effect, and ought to be abolished.

For all amounts of money, gold and silver are the only legitimate, substantial and proper circulating medium of our country.

That perpetuities and monopolies are offensive to freedom, contrary to the genius and spirit of a free state and the principles of commerce, and ought not to be allowed.

That we are in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution of the United States, and we are therefore opposed to the United States Bank....

That we are opposed to all bank charters granted by individual states, because we believe them founded on, and as giving an impulse to principles of speculation and gambling, at war with good morals and just and equal government, and calculated to build up and strengthen in our country the odious distribution of wealth and power against merit and equal rights....

Additional resolutions favored direct election of the president and vice-president, short terms for all offices, strict accountability to the people, and the right of instruction by the party of its candidates for office.

Thus concluded the most dramatic event in the short but influential life of the "Loco-Foco" Party, as it was derisively termed by the Democratic and banking establishment.

HARD MONEY

The seeds of the Equal Rights Democracy had been

sown in the late 1820s in a brief movement called the Workingmen's Party. When that movement collapsed, its spirit lived on in the scathing editorials of the *New York Post*'s brilliant William Leggett (see "Leggett: 19th-Century Libertarian," REASON, Feb. 1977), until the arrogant actions of the bank monopolists called forth public outcry within the ranks of the New York Democratic Party.

In those days, a bank might do business only if granted a charter by special act of the legislature. Since private banking offered a golden opportunity to issue unsecured bank notes to the gullible, it was a much-sought-after privilege. Indeed, it was so much sought after that on occasion considerable sums of real money were said to have changed hands prior to a legislative vote. When in 1829 the New York banks—backed by a compliant state government in Albany — contrived a "Safety Fund" to avert the consequences of bank runs and insolvencies, this union of predatory bankers and captive government sparked the Loco-Foco revolt.

The Loco-Focos were, in the words of financial historian Bray Hammond, the proponents of an urban and industrial version of Jeffersonian agrarian egalitarianism. They were the mechanics, small-tradesmen, and workingmen of emerging capitalism, and they were increasingly outraged at the machinations wrought upon them by special privilege conferred by government.

The 1836 Loco-Foco Declaration of Principles laid down their fundamental belief: "unqualified and uncompromising hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency." The Loco-Focos recognized that government-authorized issue of private paper money, not backed by specie, meant that increasing amounts of "money" would inflate the prices of rents and commodities, thereby penalizing savings and honest labor. "As the currency expands," they cried, "the loaf contracts." They saw fortunes made in manipulation of intrinsically worthless paper, under the protection and encouragement of a state government hypocritically pretending to protect the rights of the people.

DEBASEMENT

Their objection was not only that they were the victims. It was far more principled and high-minded than that. The Loco-Focos sincerely believed that stock-jobbing, speculation, and manipulation of worthless paper were fundamentally immoral and that those who sought to profit by these practices were infecting republican institutions. The result could only be a debasement of the sacred principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Their pure view of government was clearly expressed in their 1836 Declaration. "The rightful power of all legislation," they proclaimed, "is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us. No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another; and this is ALL from which the law ought to restrain him. ...The idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society, we give up any natural right."

The Loco-Focos also had a high-minded view of how an honorable credit system would operate. Enthusiastic applause punctuated the reading of a letter from Samuel Young to a party meeting in 1837, in which Mr. Young set forth these principles: "Credit is the offspring of the individual confidence which one man reposes in his fellow-man. It results from the security which one individual feels in the integrity and ability of another. Like love, joy, hope, faith, confidence, &c., it is an emotion of the heart which was bestowed upon man for beneficial purposes, and can be well regulated only by individual impulse and direction. Legislation cannot create, but may mar and destroy it. If government should institute monopolies to make discounts of love and matrimony, those commodities would soon become as spurious and as much below par as the bills of the broken banks. The late explosion of the banking system [the Panic of 1837] is an eminent example of the extent to which the misdirected framers of human government in the creation of monied monopolies may paralyze and extinguish individual credit and confidence. The principle of free competition which was implanted in man by his maker, is the only sure and safe regulator of all the business purposes and pecuniary transactions of human society. But the [advocates] of legislation have pronounced the great Architect to be a bungler, and have essayed to better the movements of the machinery, by applying to the community the strait jacket of restraining and usury laws, and the complex tourniquet of 'safety fund' and 'credit system.' Demoralisation, oppression, taxation, fraud, perjury, and failure, ever have been, and will ever be the result, until mankind shall acquire sufficient strength and confidence in themselves to tear off these shackles."

RISE AND FALL

The dramatic Loco-Foco takeover of Tammany Hall caused extreme consternation among the Regency Democrats and their bank allies. "The cholera itself scarcely carried with it more terrors," wrote one leading New York Democrat to President Van Buren. Governor Marcy, with an utterly straight face, lamented the appearance of the "hideous monster of Loco-Focoism." Certainly, if the Loco-Foco movement were to prevail, many a sweetheart deal between the politicians and the bankers would be swept away, exposing the latter to the unspeakable perils of free competition.

After one turbulent mass meeting in February 1837—which degenerated into the looting of various provision houses by some hungry hangers-on excited by the Loco-Foco rhetoric — the Loco-Focos came together in May to again denounce the banks and to "adopt measures to retrieve our country from the desolating influence of paper money." A few days later, runs on several banks, leading to the suspension of specie payment, were interpreted by the Loco-Focos (without justification, as it turned out) as evidence of growing public support for their principles. So was the outcome of the 1837 legislative elections, in which a Democratic majority of 82 in Albany was converted to a Whig majority of 64, a net change of 146 seats. While the Loco-Focos, as a faction of the Democratic Party, had little reason to support the largely unprincipled Whigs, they had great reason to punish backsliding and corrupt Democrats, which accounted for a handful of the Democratic defeats.

Meanwhile, in September 1837, President Van Buren, a New Yorker, asked Congress to create an independent sub-Treasury system to manage the government's accounts in specie only, ending all reliance on private bank deposits or notes. Damning the incestuous relationship between the banks and the government, Van Buren declared that "government was not intended to confer special favors on individuals or on any classes of them....The less government interferes with private

pursuits the better." This was pure Loco-Foco doctrine, and the New York faithful toasted the message with shouts of exultation.

For seven years, 1837-1844, the anti-monopoly, hard-money, Jeffersonian tenets of the Loco-Focos dominated national Democratic Party doctrine. But in the city of its birth, Loco-Focoism fell prey to the fate of many an idealistic reform movement. With Van Buren's apparent espousal of their doctrines, the Loco-Focos, in modern parlance, "had the action." So the regular Democrats, yielding to unpleasant necessity, recruited the most electable and least ideological leaders from Loco-Foco ranks. The movement split into "rump" and "buffalo" factions, the one holding out for a restoration of true Jeffersonian democracy, the other seeking a tactical alliance with the party regulars.

By 1840 it was finished. Of the Loco-Foco faithful, only one remained, a mildly retarded but enthusiastic gentleman who, at the appointed time for monthly meetings, religiously repaired to the old Fifth Ward Hotel. But the meeting room, for so long the scene of tumultuous demonstrations against special privilege and for the equal rights of the people, had long since fallen silent. And when one day the wrecking ball came to the Fifth Ward Hotel, that abandoned old man stood on the sidewalk, tears running down his cheeks, as the last symbol of Loco-Focoism passed silently into history. ◻

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Grenander

(*Continued from p. 31.*)

agnoses diseases in order to control them; the psychiatrist diagnoses behavior in order to control it.

SHAKESPEARE AND SZASZ

Just as mental illness, in Szasz's view, is a myth, so is psychotherapy a myth. As a metaphor, it is fine. But if we think for a minute about the etymology of the word—one which we have all come to accept unquestioningly—we can see how ridiculous the concept is when we take it literally. *Therapy* for the *psyche*? *Curing* the *soul*?

Shakespeare knew better than this, at the very beginning of the 17th century—that ideological hinge of time when Western civilization was turning away from a religious culture toward a scientific one. Watching wicked Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep, tortured by an anguish of remorse, the doctor who has been called to the castle says: "This disease is beyond my practice....More needs she the divine than the physician."

Later, Macbeth himself asks the doctor about his queen. His query is an early illustration of the human desire to transform questions of good and evil into questions of health and disease. Macbeth, who knows very well what his wife has been up to, says, "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd, / Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow, / Raze out the written troubles of the brain, / And with some sweet oblivious antidote / Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff / Which weighs upon the heart?"

The doctor, however, unlike his psychiatric successors, recognizes that what ails his patient has nothing to do with disease and cannot be cured by pills. He answers, "Therein the patient / Must minister to himself." Lady Macbeth is not sick; she is a murderess. Her husband is trying, unsuccessfully, to do what today we are able to do with only too much ease. Thieves, muggers, rapists, and murderers—particularly when it would be awkward or inconvenient to investigate their crimes publicly in a court trial—are treated as if they were "sick" rather than immoral.

Szasz wants us to confront questions of good and evil, not to sweep them under the rug by invoking the myth of mental illness. He wants psychiatrists today to act like Lady Macbeth's doctor. The physician Shakespeare had created did not know what his patient had done, but he was acute enough to recognize that what she suffered from was no disease, but the gnawing of conscience for some terrible deed. In the last analysis, she herself would have to face the consequences of her own acts. And finally, when she did so, she chose to commit suicide. But even that decision, according to the psychiatric mythology of our modern Western societies, is a "mental illness."

SELF-HELP VS. TYRANNY

Szasz recognizes that psychiatrists do act on their patients in various ways. He thinks that listening with sympathy and understanding to someone who has troubles may well help him. But this is not "therapy," in the medical sense, and it has nothing to do with being a physician. Many a person with no medical background performs this role. Most teachers have found that their students often seek them out for what purports to be intellectual guidance or academic advisement, when what they are really looking for is sympathetic understanding of their personal problems. The taxi-driver and the bartender proverbially render the same service.

Szasz is not anti-psychiatry. So long as an individual seeks out a psychiatrist of his own accord, so long as the psychiatrist does not betray his client's confidences, and so long as the psychiatrist never acts against his client at the instigation of a third party, he may well help his patient to understand his own character better and to change the goals of his life and the ways in which he is trying to reach them. But whenever the psychiatrist breaks faith with his client, whenever he controls him on behalf of someone else or on behalf of society—in short, whenever the so-called patient is a *victim* of psychiatric interventions that are imposed on him against his will—then he is a scapegoat.

Szasz's analysis of mental illness as mythology has far-reaching consequences leading to a distinction between two kinds of psychiatry. The first recognizes moral and social problems for what they are; the second disguises them under misleading medical labels. The first rests on personal responsibility and uncoerced choices involving self-discipline as well as self-direction; the individual's own freedom interacts with the freedom of others. The second, on the other hand, embraces moral failure and entails State control through bureaucratic technologizing at personal, social, and political levels. It fingers its scapegoats by calling them "mentally ill," their prognosis being implicit in a degrading diagnosis culled from the psychiatric nosology. It disguises its tyranny by applying the term *treatment* to coercion, involuntary commitment, and unwanted interventions visited on its hapless victims in the name of "therapy."

The questions that the erudite and courageous Professor Szasz has been posing for over two decades have no simple solutions. Rather, he is asking us to undertake a critical and often painful examination of our own thinking, to explore assumptions so fundamental that we have taken them for granted, not only in our individual lives but in our society. He is forcing us to decide what values are important to us, to arrange them in a hierarchical order, and then to establish our priorities, both as moral beings and as citizens, according to the conclusions we have reached. ◻

THEY DON'T MAKE 'EM LIKE THEY USED TO

The Discriminating Viewer's Guide to Romantic Films

By Bruce Lagasse

NEW MOVIES ARE REVIEWED regularly in the pages of REASON, but what about older movies? What of the many movies of the '30s, '40s, and '50s that appear on television on the "late show," "early show," and anywhere in-between? Some, surely, would be of interest to the readers of REASON. Often, however, it is not clear from the brief descriptions given in *TV Guide* whether a particular movie might be worth watching. In many cases, the decision to spend two hours or so watching a movie on TV is pretty much a shot in the dark, and the end result may be two hours wasted. It would be helpful to have some kind of prior indication whether a given movie has some sort of romantic/heroic/value-oriented qualities. The list that follows is an attempt to provide such an indication.

Probably the most common reactions to a list such as this are, How on earth could that moron have left out _____ or _____? or, How could *anybody* possibly think that _____ deserves to be listed among favorite romantic films? Both reactions are not only understandable but valid. Responses to particular works of art are individual and personal. Thoughtful, intelligent, dedicated, articulate people who share some values—say political values—may (and often do) differ significantly in their artistic preferences, depending on their own unique and different tastes, character development, temperament, etc.

This is a very personal list, then, based on my own individual taste and preferences, of my favorite romantic films. They are presented as a guideline for your viewing choice, showing what one particular romantic-movie fan, with a particular set of values, regards as worth looking at. If you find that your tastes are similar to mine, and you share my opinions, I'll be pleased. And if you don't agree with my views, if you wonder what in heaven's name I ever found worthwhile about this or that movie, that's neither an indictment of your taste nor or mine; it merely indicates that we are different. Nevertheless, I hope I am enough of an individualist/romantic "everyman" to have tapped some common interests.

To repeat, what this list attempts to do is to provide you, the reader, with one man's opinion (presumably informed) on movies I have found worth watching when they appear on television. If, as a result of comparing your judgment with mine and finding a congeniality of tastes, you are thereby led to view (and enjoy) a movie you would otherwise have passed up, this article will have served its purpose.

All of the movies listed are ones I have seen and enjoyed and would enjoy seeing again. Some I would watch if I had nothing pressing to do; a few I would neglect almost anything else to watch. If you see any of them scheduled in your TV magazine, give it a look and see if you agree with me. Happy viewing!

THE ADVENTURES OF SHERLOCK HOLMES. The special delight of the Sherlock Holmes movies is observing probably the most relentlessly rational, logical character in the English-speaking cinema. Basil Rathbone is the definitive Holmes, always in control of any situation, never at a loss for ideas. In this splendidly atmospheric film, the full powers of his intellect are required to prevent his archenemy Moriarty from stealing the British crown jewels.

THE AFRICAN QUEEN. Excellent comedy-drama of hard-drinking riverboat captain Humphrey Bogart who, under the goading of Katherine Hepburn, transcends his limitations to become an admirable and resourceful hero as the two of them battle the elements and a German cruiser in WW I Central Africa.

AMERICANS ON EVEREST. National Geographic Society's superb film of the 1963 American expedition to Mt. Everest. Thrilling depiction of the surmounting of overwhelming obstacles and human limitations by indomitable strength of will, to place six climbers on Everest's summit. Stirring narration by Orson Welles.

AUNTIE MAME. Uproarious comedy of madcap heiress Rosalind Russell as she uses wit and resource to overcome numerous reverses, raise an orphaned nephew, and puncture pomposity over a two-decade span. Russell is brilliant.

BAD DAY AT BLACK ROCK. Spencer Tracy as one-armed WW II veteran who arrives in small western town to deliver a posthumous battle decoration and encounters strange hostility. Tracy, as always a mountain of integrity and steadfastness, rallies the decent, but initially cowardly, element in the town to prevail over evil big shot Robert Ryan.

The Philadelphia Story • Top Hat • Village of the Damned • Bad D

THE BLACK ARROW. Among the very best of knight-in-armor melodramas. Louis Hayward is perfect as hero battling villain George Macready to save the life of Janet Blair during War of the Roses. Exciting finale featuring joust between Hayward and Macready.

BLITHE SPIRIT. Sparkling, delightful version of Noel Coward comedy about placid English couple (Rex Harrison, Constance Cummings), whose lives are traumatically upset by the appearance of the ghost of the husband's first wife (Kay Hammond). Superior performances (particularly Margaret Rutherford as a medium) but, as in so many Coward comedies, sparkling dialogue is the main attraction.

BORN FREE. The story of Elsa the lioness, raised from a cub as a tame pet by African game wardens (Virginia McKenna and Bill Travers). It then becomes necessary to train Elsa to cope for herself in the wild. Elsa's desperate struggle and eventual success in becoming self-sufficient is a moving and breathtaking story of achievement.

BREAKING THE SOUND-BARRIER. Gripping story of the intensity and dedication of aircraft industrialist Ralph Richardson as he attempts to build the first plane to fly faster than sound. In addition, vivid illustration of how intelligence and mental resourcefulness are the key differences between the pilot who first successfully breaks the sound barrier and the one who dies trying.

BRINGING UP BABY. Hilarious screwball comedy with Cary Grant as a shy anthropologist being pursued by dizzy heiress Katherine Hepburn. "Baby" of title is Hepburn's pet leopard, which gets loose on her New England farm and is the object of mishap-strewn (and romance-strewn) hunt by her and Grant.

BRIEF ENCOUNTER. Noel Coward's play of two married people (Trevor Howard, Celia Johnson) who meet by chance in a train station, contrive to meet again, and drift into a brief, but touching, love affair. Poignant story, beautifully told; background music (Rachmaninoff's 2nd Piano Concerto) underscores romantic atmosphere.

CAPTAIN BLOOD. No actor in the sound era could swashbuckle like Errol Flynn; this movie is one of his best. Falsely imprisoned doctor becomes pirate to escape from slavery; by courage and ingenuity saves Jamaica from destruction and wins royal pardon and hand of Olivia DeHavilland.

CASABLANCA. The ultimate Warner Brothers film. Immensely entertaining story of intrigue, romance, courage, and idealism in Casablanca during the early days of WW II. Marvelous cast (Bogart, Bergman, Henreid, Rains, Veidt, Greenstreet, etc.), many memorable scenes (singing of French national anthem in night club still raises goose-bumps) and, of course, "As Time Goes By."

CHARADE. Suave, delightful espionage-type adventure with new widow Audrey Hepburn being menaced by an assortment of thugs after her late husband's alleged fortune, helped (and romanced) by mysterious stranger Cary Grant, who may or may not be connected with thugs. Chic early '60s Parisian setting.

THE COURT JESTER. Highly amusing comedy-spoof of knighthood and Robin Hood stories. Danny Kaye, as jester, is mistaken for hired assassin, takes part in overthrowing wicked king, engages in uproarious joust with Robert Middleton. Excellent vehicle for Kaye; contains his best patter songs.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC. Rostand's magnificent drama of the legendary Cyrano—a man of monumental nobility of character, who, because of his grotesque appearance, is afraid to express his feelings to the woman he loves and instead uses a physically handsome, but intellectually empty, man as his romantic stand-in. Oscar-winning title performance by Jose Ferrer.

DARK VICTORY. Superb Bette Davis soaper. Excellent performance by Davis as spoiled socialite who learns she has a terminal illness, moves from petulant rebellion to frenzied hedonism to mature acceptance. Moving depiction of growing love for surgeon who treats her and whom she marries and finds happiness with before she dies.

A DAY AT THE RACES. Excellent Marx Brothers comedy, with Groucho as veterinarian Dr. Hackenbush, who becomes medical director of sanitarium backed financially by his great foil Margaret Dumont. Chico and Harpo involved in "National Velvet"-type subplot about a racehorse. Hilarious scene when Groucho tries to buy inside tip on a race from tout Chico.

THE DAY THE EARTH STOOD STILL. Superior science fiction about man from another planet (Michael Rennie) who comes to earth. To learn about human culture, he takes a room in a small boarding house, has a brief but touching relationship with widow and her son. Vivid depiction of widespread xenophobic reaction to his presence. Exciting melodrama, memorable performance by Rennie.

DESK SET. Delightful, highly entertaining comedy with Spencer Tracy as efficiency expert investigating the feasibility of installing computer in TV network research department; tangles with Katherine Hepburn, the walking-encyclopedia department head. Naturally, they fall in love. The hallmark of so many Tracy-Hepburn films, a warm, affectionate mutual respect between the two, is particularly evident here.

THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK. Shattering story of a Jewish family in Amsterdam, hiding from the Nazis while living in secret room behind small shop for over two years. Vivid portrayal of the psychological strength and stability of family head Otto Frank and his daughter Anne during terrible adversity. Immensely moving, almost unbearably poignant; beautiful Alfred Newman score.

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS. Moving Hemingway story of loyalist guerrilla band during Spanish Civil War, aided by demolitions expert Gary Cooper. Poignant romance between Cooper and peasant girl Ingrid Bergman during preparations for blowing up key Fascist bridge. Cooper gives performance of quiet strength, and Katina Paxinou won Oscar for her indomitable resistance leader.

THE FOUNTAINHEAD. Very effective and worthwhile movie version of Ayn Rand's masterpiece of the individual vs. the collective—the story of the architect who will not compromise his integrity, the woman who loves him, and the newspaper publisher who defaults on his own greatness. Gary Cooper is Roark, Raymond Massey is Wynand, and Patricia Neal is superb as Dominique. Brilliant final scene of Dominique riding freight elevator up side of skyscraper; memorable Max Steiner score.

HIGH NOON. Taut, gripping western with Oscar-winning performance by Gary Cooper as small-town marshal whose integrity will not permit him to avoid deadly confrontation with outlaws, despite apa-

thy and cowardice of the town's citizenry. Superlative, tight-as-a-drum editing, many vivid cameos by supporting cast, award-winning score by Dimitri Tiomkin.

HOLIDAY. Cary Grant as man of independent character is all set to marry stuffy society girl; when he is pressured to compromise his beliefs by her family, he receives first moral, then romantic, support from his fiancée's nonconformist older sister (Katherine Hepburn). Both Grant and Hepburn are standouts as easy-going but steadfast pillars of integrity.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST. Delightful Oscar Wilde comedy of manners about the course of true love in Victorian England, somewhat complicated by mistaken identity. Devastating deadpan humor, splendidly delivered by expert British cast including Michael Redgrave, Edith Evans, Margaret Rutherford, and Dorothy Tutin.

KEY LARGO. Good vs. evil in small Florida Keys hotel. Gangster Edward G. Robinson and his hoods take cover in hotel during hurricane, hold Humphrey Bogart, Lauren Bacall, and others captive. Sparked by psychological clashes with Robinson, Bogart regains courage and self-esteem lost during war, leading up to final shoot-out with Robinson.

THE KING AND I. Splendid film version of Rodgers-Hammerstein musical about relationship between 19th-century Siamese king and British governess. Yul Brynner is magnificent as king torn by ingrained centuries-old despotic tradition conflicting with development of his admirable, idealistic traits; encouraged by governess (Deborah Kerr) whom he gradually comes to love. Many fine songs by R&H.

KING KONG. Classic version of beauty and the beast, and the best monster movie ever made. Thrilling story of a giant ape captured on a primeval Indian Ocean island, then brought to New York for display; followed by his escape and eventual death (in legendary scene) atop the Empire State building. Special effects have never been surpassed, splendid Max Steiner score, and Fay Wray delivers the most memorable screams in movie history.

LOVE LETTERS. Ayn Rand wrote the screenplay for this beautiful story of a British soldier (Joseph Cotten) who writes the love letters for his acquaintance at the front, eventually falls in love himself with a woman he's never seen. He finally meets her (Jennifer Jones) and manages to win her for himself. Tender, poignant performance by Jones.

THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN. Superior western, based on Japanese samurai movie of the same name. Seven gunfighters, of widely diverse backgrounds and motivations, are hired by small Mexican village to protect it from a gang of marauding outlaws. Eli Wallach is superbly villainous as the outlaw chief, and gunfighter leader Yul Brynner is a figure of impressive authority and control.

A MAN AND A WOMAN. French widow (Anouk Aimee) and widower (Jean-Louis Trintignant) meet by chance and gradually fall in love in beautiful, sensitively told story. Flashbacks of their lives with previous spouses set stage for rapturous denouement. Warm, believable performances by Trintignant and the magnificent Aimee.

MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGTON. Jimmy Stewart is idealistic but naïve as newly elected US senator who goes to D.C. and encounters corruption in high places. Victim of a frame-up, he grows up quickly under tutelage of ace reporter Jean Arthur. On the verge of being expelled from the Senate, he fights back in a classic filibuster sequence, a memorable tribute to human integrity and courage.

THE MUMMY. Splendidly spooky, atmospheric tale of Egyptian mummy (Boris Karloff) who is brought to life after being discovered by archaeologists, then pursues present-day reincarnation of his ancient love. Superb genre performance by Karloff.

A NIGHT AT THE OPERA. Classic Marx Brothers comedy with Groucho as bumbling opera impresario trying to seduce dowager Margaret Dumont and install Chico's and Harpo's protégé (Alan Jones) as leading man in new opera. Memorable comedy sequences, including the legendary stateroom scene.

NINOTCHKA. Greta Garbo is marvelous in her first American comedy ("Garbo laughs"), as an austere Communist envoy who is sent to Paris to oversee negotiations for vital foodstuffs, is romanced and finally thawed by playboy Melvin Douglas. Delightful, light-hearted direction by Ernst Lubitsch.

NOTORIOUS. US intelligence agent Cary Grant meets and falls in love with Ingrid Bergman, then must convince her that it is necessary she marry leading South American Nazi (Claude Rains) to obtain vitally needed information. Taut, suspenseful direction by Alfred Hitchcock; gripping, memorable ending.

NOW, VOYAGER. Superior soaper containing Bette Davis's best role as a fearfully shy and repressed woman under the influence of a domineering mother. With the help of psychiatrist Claude Rains, she undergoes miraculous transformation into woman of self-esteem and assurance, sustained by romantic idyll with Paul Henreid. Beautiful, memorable score by Max Steiner, and the celebrated cigarette ritual is still the best excuse ever devised for taking up smoking.

ONE, TWO, THREE. Hilarious, lightning-fast screwball comedy with James Cagney as Coca Cola executive in Berlin who tries to transform young Bolshevik hippie (Horst Buchholz) into American-style capitalist, to preserve the virtue of company president's daughter.

QUEEN CHRISTINA. Greta Garbo is magnificent in her finest role, portraying Swedish Queen as a cultured, intelligent, self-assured renaissance woman far ahead of her time. Tender, haunting love scene with John Gilbert; loving, sumptuous production by MGM. Celebrated fade-out shot with Garbo's luminous face filling the screen.

THE PHILADELPHIA STORY. Witty, literate comedy about society girl Katherine Hepburn's upcoming wedding and its effect on her and her family. Cary Grant as her previous husband provides cynical commentary, as does James Stewart in his Oscar-winning role as radical reporter covering the wedding. Romantic, storybook ending.

THE RETURN OF MONTE CRISTO. Fine, swashbuckling melodrama about a descendant (Louis Hayward) of the original Count being bilked out of Monte Cristo fortune and sent to die on Devil's Island on a trumped-up charge. Superbly ingenious and resourceful, he manages to escape, return to France, and bring his enemies to justice. Hayward is extremely good at this type of role, investing it with authority and flair.

ROUGHLY SPEAKING. Warm, charming comedy-drama of three decades in the

life of a rather ne'er-do-well husband (Jack Carson) and his cheerful, indomitable wife (Rosalind Russell). Memorable for Russell's superb portrayal of a woman whose resourcefulness, imagination, and good humor are equal to any obstacle or setback.

THE SCARLET PIMPERNEL. Vapid, foolish London fop (Leslie Howard) leads double life as the mysterious Scarlet Pimpernel, a brilliantly resourceful and daring hero who is rescuing innocent victims of the French Revolution. Gripping war of nerves between Howard and French agent (Raymond Massey) who suspects the Pimpernel's true identity. Merle Oberon as Howard's wife secretly admires the unknown Pimpernel while despising her (seemingly) worthless husband. Howard is superb in both roles.

THE SEA HAWK. Errol Flynn is at his best in this swashbuckling romance of high-seas adventure. Flynn is privateer captain for Queen Elizabeth, battling the Spaniards on the seas, on land, and in the English Court, while romancing Spanish-reared Brenda Marshal. Famous Erich Korngold score.

THE SEVENTH VEIL. Beautiful story of a young woman (Ann Todd) trained from childhood as a concert pianist by her stern, taskmaster guardian (James Mason). At height of her career, she defaults on her dedication and drifts into several affairs; finally, under her therapist's prodding, she regains her self-esteem and realizes whom she really loves. Extended musical sequences; superb performance by Mason.

SHANE. The myth and folklore of the western boiled down to basic elements, told with simplicity and force. Alan Ladd, as a gunfighter trying to live down his past, hires on with a Wyoming farmer (Van Heflin), stands by him during range war. Powerful climax as Ladd meets hired gun Jack Palance in final showdown. Touching relationship between Ladd and young farmboy (Brandon de Wilde) who idolizes him.

SINK THE BISMARCK! Exciting semi-documentary about British navy's hunt for German battleship Bismarck during early days of WW II. Several excellent battle scenes; but main focus is on Admiralty war room in London, as Kenneth More, directing the pursuit, has to marshal all the resources of the British navy to finally pull victory from defeat.

SON OF THE SHEIK. Exciting silent-film romantic melodrama with Rudolph Valentino as sheik's son who falls in love with dancing girl Vilma Banky. When she is abducted by slave traders, he pursues and rescues her and breaks up the gang. In a dual role, Valentino also plays his father, the original sheik. Very creditable acting by Valentino.

SPELLBOUND. First-rate suspense thriller with Ingrid Bergman as psychiatrist treating amnesiac patient Gregory Peck, who is afraid he may have committed a murder. Bergman treats him, cures him, falls in love with him, and discovers the truth about the murder. Dream sequence designed by Salvador Dali, highlighted by eerie electronic music. Memorable surprise ending; directed by Alfred Hitchcock.

THE SPIRIT OF SAINT LOUIS. Superb film about Charles Lindbergh's New York-Paris flight. Magnificent performance by James Stewart as Lindbergh. Flashbacks show his early years as barnstorming pilot and preparations for the flight. Heart-catching excitement of the take-off and the ecstatic exhilaration of the Paris landing are brilliantly depicted.

A STAR IS BORN. Powerful, poignant story of celebrated actor (James Mason) who discovers and develops an unknown singer-actress (Judy Garland), falls in love with and marries her, then goes to pieces when his career deteriorates while she becomes major star. Stunning performance by a slim, beautiful Garland; unforgettable renditions of "That's Entertainment," "Born in a Trunk," and "The Man That Got Away."

SWING TIME. One of the very best Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers films. Gambler (Astaire) woos dance instructor (Rogers), somewhat hampered by engagement to girl back home. Wonderful songs, ballroom dances; memorable, classic "Bojangles" production number by Astaire.

THEM. Exciting, first-rate thriller about the discovery of a colony of gigantic ants in New Mexico desert; frantic nationwide hunt is launched when it is found that two egg-laden queen ants have managed to escape. Somewhat unusual, but highly effective emphasis on detective-story aspects; memorable, spooky scenes.

THINGS TO COME. H. G. Wells story of a future world war and its aftermath of a shattered, preindustrial society; eventual emergence of a scientific, technological elite who bring peace and order, followed by generations of increased knowledge and progress. Memorable for its lyrical tribute to the questing state of mind that forever seeks new ideas and new horizons.

TOKYO OLYMPIAD. Excellent documentary of the 1964 summer Olympic games in Tokyo. Directed by Kon Ichikawa and modeled on Leni Riefenstahl's classic *Olympia*, it is a stirring paean to human physical beauty, grace, and strength. Especially memorable (as in *Olympia*) is the coverage of the marathon race.

TOP HAT. Astaire-Rogers masterpiece. No one has ever equaled Fred Astaire's combination of debonair, jaunty insouciance and razor-edged precision. Ginger Rogers, though not a dominant dancer, was an excellent foil to Astaire, generally as an independent woman of character. In this film, dancer Fred pursues heiress Ginger, overcomes misunderstandings to win her. Superb production number ("Top Hat, White Tie, and Tails").

VILLAGE OF THE DAMNED. Eerie, memorable science fiction about small English village that is inexplicably isolated from outside world for one day; exactly nine months later, a child is born to every woman in the village. Fine performance by George Sanders as writer who studies the mysterious children, in possession of incredible powers of mental compulsion, and who learns of their seemingly unstoppable plan to take over the world.

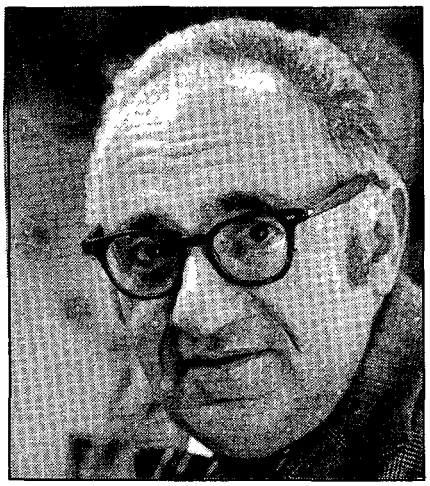
WATCH ON THE RHINE. Taut, suspenseful story of German resistance leader and his wife (Paul Lukas, Bette Davis) who come to Washington in early days of WW II but find they are still menaced by Nazi agents. Oscar-winning performance of quiet strength and integrity by Lukas; warm, loving relationship between Lukas and Davis is movingly portrayed.

WOMAN OF THE YEAR. This delightful comedy features the first appearance of Spencer Tracy and Katherine Hepburn as a team. He's a sportswriter, she's a political columnist on the same paper. Despite initial mutual antagonism, they fall in love and get married. As usual, their characterizations embody strength, independence, and a deep, unmistakable mutual affection. ◻

Bruce Lagasse, an inveterate old-movie watcher, is an engineer with Hughes Aircraft. He is the reigning movie-trivia-quiz champion of the California Libertarian Party.

1978—The Breakthrough Year

viewpoint



Murray N. Rothbard

I believe that future historians will mark 1978 as the breakthrough year for libertarianism—the year in which this new creed broke through the inertia of social attitudes to become an influential movement in American politics. The breakthrough may be analyzed in two parts: libertarian ideas in political life, and the narrower but equally important escalation of influence as a self-conscious and consistent political party. The former—an increasing libertarian mood among the voters—came as a one-two punch in 1978: first, in the victory of the tax-cutting Proposition 13 in California, and second in the November elections.

I have already in these pages (September) hailed the tax revolt kicked off by Prop. 13, so I need not return to that theme here. The November elections puzzled many analysts (Was it a "shift to the right" or not?), but much of the puzzle can be cleared up if we interpret the election as a marked shift toward libertarianism.

In those cases in which conservatives won, they did so by stressing the libertarian issue of tax cuts and tax limitation, one that had not really distinguished conservatives until last year. The famous Panama Canal issue was conspicuous by its absence in November, despite the hoopla raised by conservatives not very many months earlier. Even when conservatives stressed "social issues," they tended to be libertarian. Thus, conservative Edward J. King, who swept to victory as governor of formerly left-liberal "Taxachusetts," concentrated on opposition to environmentalist restrictions on production as well as on tax and spending cuts. And conservatives were helped in smashing their opponents in left-liberal Minnesota by the outrage of rural northern Minnesotans at the attempt of wealthy liberals to outlaw motorboats and snowmobiles in favor of sleds, canoes, and backpacks. Even the troubled abortion issue—stressed by King, Iowa's new Senator Roger Jepsen, and most other conservatives—centered far more on opposition to *tax-funded* abortions than to abortions per se. At least two of the successful conservatives—Jepsen and Gordon Humphrey for the Senate in New Hampshire—were not afraid to maintain that Social Security should be privatized.

When liberals won, they did so by leaping rapidly and deftly on the tax-cutting, expenditure-slashing bandwagon. The most conspicuous example was Gov. Jerry Brown of California, who flip-flopped openly in favor of Proposition 13 the very night of its victory and has been leading the parade ever since—successfully outfoxing his reluctant Republican challenger, Evelle Younger, and sending Younger to a smashing defeat in November.

There are also two examples of seeming anomalies in November that can only be explained as part of a libertarian trend. In California, the "liberal" Proposition Five, which would have banned smoking in most public areas, and the "conservative" Proposition Six, which would have ousted any public school teachers who advocated or "encouraged" homosexuality, were both roundly defeated. The common thread in these defeats—as discerned by the *San Francisco Examiner*—was that both proposals were seen by the voters as unjustified interference in people's lives by Big Government. The highly intelligent "No on Five" TV commercials hammered away at this theme night after night: "What are they going to regulate next?"

The other curious result was in New Hampshire, where Gov. Meldrim Thomson, popular as the man who kept income and sales taxes out of the state, was defeated; while the equally ultraconservative Gordon Humphrey ousted an incumbent senator in a stunning upset. But the mystery can be solved if we realize that Thomson's opponent, Hugh Gallen, himself pledged to keep out these taxes, also hit hard at Thomson's decision to force consumers to subsidize a nuclear power plant by means of higher gas and electric rates for their state-regulated utility. Once again, a libertarian trend can explain a seeming puzzle.

1978, then, began as the year when the astute and prestigious political analyst Alan Baron, himself in no sense a libertarian, told his readers that "if any trend in opinion is evident, it's toward libertarianism—the philosophy that argues against government intervention and for personal rights. Conservatives welcome that trend when it indicates public skepticism toward federal programs; liberals welcome it when it shows growing acceptance of individual rights in such areas as drugs, sexual behavior, etc., and increasing reticence of the public to support foreign intervention." 1978 ended as the year when an unsympathetic writer in the *New York Times Magazine* noted that "radical libertarianism, a view that promotes individual rights and freedom of action—business and sex alike—. . . defies the simplicity of customary 'liberal-conservative' categories. It is not obviously right or left—although it is obviously immoderate. It justifies no single contemporary political current—although it seems to embody the curious mixture of ideologies that political commentators were at a loss to explain after November's elections."

But the year was not only notable for libertarian views among the broad electorate; it was also the breakthrough year in the fortunes of the Libertarian Party. In 1976, the typical LP candidate across the country was lucky to gain one percent of the vote; now five and six percent were quite common. Not only that: the Libertarian Party won its first election to a state legislature—in Fairbanks, Alaska, where Dick Randolph was elected to the State House of Representatives.

But the single most meaningful leap forward in the LP came once again in California, where Ed Clark, soft-spoken and intelligent attorney from Los Angeles, garnered an incredible 5.5 percent of the vote for governor, totaling over 370,000 votes. This was by far the largest vote ever received by a Libertarian candidate and was more than double the vote received by presidential candidate Roger MacBride in *32* states in 1976.

It was an exciting thing to live in Cali-

fornia and see the Clark momentum build. From the beginning, he clearly "captivated the media," as the *San Francisco Examiner* put it. He did it by demonstrating the ability to cleave to consistent libertarian principles, while *applying* those principles to important political issues in a way that seemed cogent and reasonable to the media. One example was Clark's call for abolition of the state sales tax; another was his proposal, not only for income tax credits for private school tuition as a means of moving toward privatization of the public schools, but also for the same tax credits for paying scholarships for *other parents'* kids.

In the September polls, Clark—in a (*Continued on p. 49.*)

taxes

How to Pay Taxes

You know, this is a particularly beautiful time of year. Not because of the weather, but because it's the *tax season*. This is the time of year when just about every working person in America can sit down to do the income tax forms . . . and become part of something *bigger*. As University of California Prof. Brian Murphy recently put it, "Through taxation the government drafts us into the service of society."

Of course, it is true that Americans work considerably more "in the service of society" than did medieval serfs. But that was different. Think of it this way: when each of us works from January 1 through about June 6 each year, *just* to pay taxes, it's more like "everyone working for everyone else." It's so *beautiful*.

Of course, we can't all wear uniforms yet, as servants of society, but it is extraordinary that we've come so far in such a short time. Why, without the withholding tax that allows government to take our money little by little over the year, present levels of taxation would have long since caused violent rebellion. Well, people never *have* known what's good for them; that's why we have government and taxes, to make sure that our wealth *will* be spent correctly.

But enough of such philosophizing. The time is here when we can actually *count* the good that each of us is doing for society (Form 1040, line 54). So for your benefit (yes, I *too* love to serve!), I have listed a few pointers on how to better pay your income tax and thus do more for society.

First of all, don't expect any unfair breaks resulting from the so-called "tax reform" passed in 1978. What tax reductions there are actually begin in 1979, so we won't see them until early 1980 when we do our 1979 tax forms. That's so the government doesn't lose too much money, and so our democratic leaders who are running for office at that time (especially the presidential types) can point to the big tax cut they passed in 1978, which we'll just then be noticing.

Luckily, however, society won't be hurt at all by the few tax cuts that were passed. The government's take will be higher in 1979 than it was in 1978, higher in 1980 than it was in 1979, and so forth. We are able to benefit this way because government can cause inflation and thus push people into higher tax brackets, so a larger portion of their income can be taken. Also, Social Security taxes will be skyrocketing, starting in 1979—so thank goodness none of us will have to worry about old age!

- When you sit down to actually do your tax return, be sure to use the handy sticker the IRS provides, which comes with the tax forms and booklet in the mail. The sticker can be put directly on the front of the 1040 where your name goes; it has your name, address, and some numbers. No one knows what information those numbers reveal, but we do know that they help the IRS in processing your return and doing its job. So be sure to use the sticker so the IRS can be more efficient in taking society's fair share away from you.
- If you wait to send in your return until the last week before the deadline (which is April 16 this year), it will be one of millions upon millions of last-minute returns flooding the IRS offices. Chances of returns slipping through unexamined at that time are greatly increased. So be sure to send in your return early so that the tax authorities will have more time to check it and other people's returns.
- Criminal tax-fraud prosecutions are generally the result of taxpayers hiding or not reporting all of their "gross income." On the other hand, excess deductions with just about any kind of cockamamie rationale are only thrown out, with the extra tax and a little interest assessed. If in doubt, be sure not to take a deduction. Make the IRS's job easier; give them more than they may be entitled to. Besides, it's hard for them to catch you: your chances of being audited *at all* are around one in 25, and even slimmer for getting checked on any particular item.
- Understand that "taxpayers make mistakes." It's a sad fact, but the IRS manual is correct when it says that an agent can find some mistake in 99 percent of the tax returns checked. Even sadder, taxpayers often make mistakes that save them money, especially in the areas of deductions (although mere arithmetic errors will easily be picked up by the computer). If you happen to run into such an area of confusion and ambiguity, be sure to interpret it so the IRS gets the most money. After all, if the mistake is not obvious on its face, the IRS is going to have to expend valuable time and effort and money tracking it down, if it ever gets caught at all. And then, even if it is caught, all that can be done for an honest mistake is correct it and charge a six percent "penalty" on the recovered amount for being such a dummie. So be smart, help out the IRS, don't make mistakes.
- If you take the handy "credit for contributions to candidates for public office" (Form 1040, line 38), be sure it's because you gave to a Democrat or Republican. They put the provision in to help their campaigns, so they should be allowed to benefit from it. And don't give such money to Libertarian or tax-protester candidates; that defeats the very *purpose* of the credit. You can get it if you gave the money during 1978: a $25 credit if you gave $50 and are filing single, a $50 credit if you're filing jointly and gave $100.
- Many tax experts suggest that if you have a very high deduction in some area, you should attach an explanation to the tax return for the IRS so that the large deduction doesn't trigger a worthless audit. If you have solid proof but don't help them with an explanation, they won't be able to function as smoothly, efficiently, and profitably as they would otherwise. An audit where you have good evidence for the expense will simply cause the IRS to waste time asking you questions about a legitimate deduction. So help them out: every hour spent fruitlessly with you is an hour they could be questioning someone else, someone who perhaps *could* be squeezed a little more.

And we certainly wouldn't want the IRS, or our government, to be inconvenienced, would we?

—Tim Condon

spotlight

Regulation Reformer

"The leader of the incipient regulation rebellion is Prof. Murray L. Weidenbaum, director of the Center for the Study of American Business," wrote *National Review* last July 7. Added columnist Kevin Phillips on another occasion, "Murray Weidenbaum is to the study of business regulation what Albert Einstein was to the theory of relativity: by far and away top man in the field."

That may be high praise, but it's not really exaggeration. For Weidenbaum has probably done more than any other single individual to uncover and publicize the high and growing costs of government regulation. The Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis—of which he is the founder and guiding light—is regularly quoted as the authoritative source on such costs. And Weidenbaum's horror stories of regulations gone wild are cited with glee by newspapers and magazines.

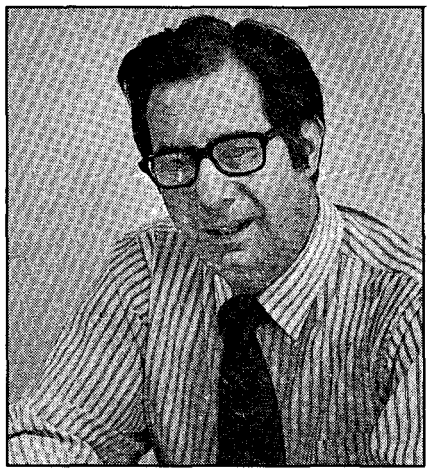
One of Weidenbaum's pet peeves is the ironic consequences of many regulations.

- After Congress passed the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), supposedly to protect pensioners, hundreds of small companies dropped their pension plans altogether because they couldn't afford to comply with the regulations.
- Weidenbaum's files likewise bulge with cases of foundries closing because they could not afford to comply with the myriad EPA and OSHA regulations.
- The Davis-Bacon Act requires construction firms to pay the "prevailing wage" on government contracts. But since this is defined by urban wage scales, firms in rural areas like Appalachia frequently lose out. "They can't pay their workers on governmental projects a whopping differential over their workers on commercial projects," explains Weidenbaum. As a result, big-city firms get the jobs "and the taxpayer, in the goodness of his or her heart, doesn't bail out the poor people of Appalachia but subsidizes union workers from Pittsburgh."

One of Weidenbaum's most widely quoted studies is his analysis of the total cost of government regulation. Beginning with his now-classic *Government-Mandated Price Increases* (1975), he pointed out that the principal cost of these regulations is not the budgets of the agencies—CAB, ICC, FTC, OSHA, etc.—but the unproductive expenses imposed on firms and individuals in order to comply. In 1976, for example, estimates Weidenbaum, direct regulatory agency budgets totaled $3.2 billion while *compliance* costs were a staggering $62.9 billion.

Analyses such as these, needless to say, have not endeared Weidenbaum to advocates of big government. But that doesn't seem to bother him. For his studies of government and business are built on a solid foundation of academic training and real-world experience—in both business and government. Thus, when he writes about bureaucratic behavior, he knows full well what he's talking about from having been there.

Born in Brooklyn in 1927, Weidenbaum grew up during the Depression. Like many poor New York City youth dur-



Murray L. Weidenbaum

ing that era, City College provided him with an exit visa. He graduated in 1948 and proceeded to an M.A. in economics from Columbia. Armed with that degree he went to work for the Bureau of the Budget, returning to academia to receive a Princeton Ph.D. in 1958. For the next five years he served as corporate economist of the Boeing Company, learning first-hand about the defense industry, and in 1964 joined the Economics Department of Washington University, serving as chairman from 1966 to 1969. He then served two years in the Treasury Department as assistant secretary for economic policy. On returning to the university, Weidenbaum became Mallinckrodt Distinguished University Professor, a post he continues to hold.

But it was in 1975 that many of Weidenbaum's plans came to fruition, with the incorporation of the Center for the Study of American Business. "We set up the Center to offset the massive ignorance on American campuses of the vital role of the American business system," Weidenbaum says. Start-up funds were provided by the John M. Olin Foundation, enabling the center to get off the ground and begin operations without devoting full-time efforts to fund raising. But those efforts, combined with the center's steadily growing output and influence, have resulted in over 90 foundations, businesses, and individuals becoming regular donors.

The center houses a number of resident scholars who conduct policy-related research and writing on various business-government interactions. They are increasingly asked to testify before congressional committees—for example, Lee Benham explaining his finding that state prohibitions on price advertising lead to higher prices for eyeglasses; and as a result of Robert DeFina's working paper on the costs of federal regulations, Weidenbaum was invited last April to testify before the Joint Economic Subcommittee on Economic Growth.

Weidenbaum's thoughts on the economy and current political/economic issues —energy prices, minimum wage increases, tax cuts, etc.—are increasingly quoted, thanks in part to his role as a member of *Time*'s Board of Economists. Though his free-market views are part of what he deems a "permanent minority" on the board, he says he has noticed "a swing to the right" during the past year, both in the board's deliberations and in the magazine's Business and Economics section. "I do believe that our message is getting through," he told us.

Though Weidenbaum stops short of advocating an end to government regulation, his calls for economic-impact statements and cost-benefit studies—if heeded —would lead to major cutbacks in today's plethora of bureaus and rules. That could give advocates of deregulation a lot more breathing room to press their case, in an increasingly robust economy. Already, the foes of regulation have succeeded in putting the big-governmentalists on the defensive. And *that* encouraging development is due in no small part to the efforts and enthusiasm of Murray L. Weidenbaum.

—Robert Poole, Jr.

books

New Profits from the Monetary Crisis

By Harry Browne
New York: William Morrow. 1978. 480 pp. $12.95.

Reviewed by Jerome Tuccille

You've got to admire a guy with the effrontery to recycle titles the way Harry Browne does. If I were a betting man I'd wager that the title of his next book will be *How to Profit from the Devaluation by Making New Profits during the Monetary Crisis.* More power to him that he manages to get away with it.

This little jibe out of the way, this latest offering from Harry Browne is a gutsy change of pace for him. Without actually admitting it, he has broken stride and shifted gears with a flair worthy of another famous Brown, Governor Jerry of California. Rightly or wrongly, the reading public has come to know Harry Browne as the godfather of the Doomsday School of Investing: buy gold, silver, and Swiss francs; get thee a shotgun, and hive off to a cave somewhere. He has given birth to a veritable army of imitators who have spouted more or less the same message, but far more stridently and less entertainingly than Harry ever did. While Harry Browne was always a pacesetter, somewhat unpredictable, and interesting to read, the same cannot be said for the legions who followed in his footsteps. They have allowed ideology to cloud their investment sense, and that, as Dennis Turner pointed out a couple of years ago (REASON, June 1977), is a mistake that is fraught with disastrous consequences.

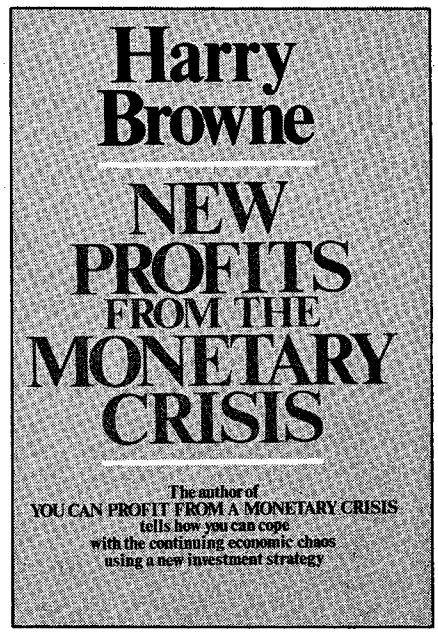
Now that the doomsday approach to investing has assumed the proportions of a religion, along comes Harry Browne with a new book that will surely jolt his followers with the impact of a bombshell. It is time, says Harry, to soften our position a little bit. Sure, I still believe in Doomsday, but let's not get carried away with it. The effect is somewhat the same as though Ayn Rand were to mount the steps of the New York Stock Exchange and announce to the world: Of course, I still believe in egoism, but...hey listen...maybe a smidgen of altruism isn't so bad after all." While the citizens of Planet Earth would smile and nudge one another in the ribs, her disciples would be outraged. True believers never forgive a leader who breaks ranks with his or her followers.

The difference between Harry Browne and the rest of the gold-bug/hard-money/shotgun school of investing is a sense of proportion. Browne has it and the ideologues don't. He knows when it's time to call in his bets and look for another game in town. What he is saying in this book is essentially: yes, the monetary and fiscal policies of the United States government are ruinous; yes, they have led to a monetary crisis and could bring on a total collapse; but maybe, just maybe, it won't happen, and you'd better be prepared for that possibility. Harry Browne has tempered his familiar doomsday scenario with a generous dash of guarded optimism.

In his new book Browne talks about the importance of hedging, just in case you happen to guess wrong about the future. He recommends setting up two portfolios. One he calls the permanent portfolio, which consists of his usual mix of metal and hard currency. The other is a flexible or variable portfolio of metal, currencies, and warrants or securities designed to take advantage of the countervailing cycles in the gold and securities markets. To the best of my knowledge, this is a first for Harry Browne: the acknowledgment that the American stock market has a place in our investment plans for the future. While I disagree with Browne's advice in several key areas—primarily, the need for a permanent portfolio in the first place, and his emphasis on warrants as a hedge—his overall message is a welcome one. In this book he takes a far more balanced view of the world we live in than he has in any of his previous investment books.

It is doubtful that Harry Browne's followers are going to be reconverted to his new soft-line prognosis for our financial ailments, and those already attuned to the vagaries of the securities markets can find more sophisticated stock market advice elsewhere. But Harry Browne's new book is well worth reading on several counts. For one thing, he is one of the more readable financial writers publishing anywhere. His reasoning process contains enough little surprises to make him an interesting and entertaining tour guide through the complicated jungle of the financial world.

On a different level altogether, it is always exciting to watch an old pro at work.



Harry Browne has been writing investment books for nearly a decade. This makes him something of a veteran on the scene. Like all true professionals in any field, he is not afraid to take chances. He has been unequivocal in the past in formulating his projections, and now that the crystal ball has begun to cloud over a bit, he is not afraid to break his stride and stake out new territory for himself. This business of making predictions about the future is treacherous, at best. When other people's money is involved it becomes all the more complicated. Harry Browne the veteran has demonstrated that he is still nimble on his feet. He can get up on his toes and dance and jab, then move in close and slug it out when he has to.

Finally, on a personal level, it is good to see a former doomsday crier adopt a more optimistic attitude—even if it is a guarded optimism at that. If Harry Browne has something good to say about the future, perhaps the world will not end tomorrow morning after all.

Jerome Tuccille's latest book is The Optimist's Guide to Making Money in the 1980's *(Morrow).*

If only those who wanted to learn had to go to school, that would make education what it should be. Compulsory education has run the course of its usefulness, and become a prison.

—Carl Rogers

Judicial Tyranny

By Carrol Kilgore
Nashville: Thomas Nelson. 1977. 370 pp. $11.95.

Reviewed by Michael Goode

Judicial Tyranny is the drama of an ideal now lost—the tale of the Constitution of these United States in the hands of our judiciary from the time of Jeffersonian idealism to the days of Nixonian pragmatism.

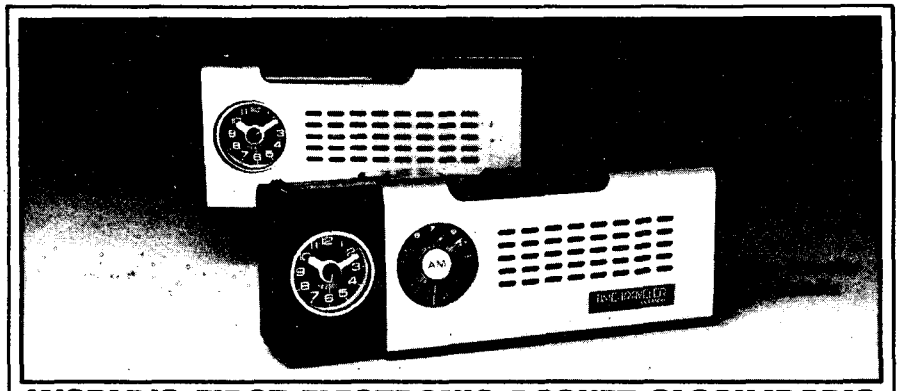
Carrol Kilgore—an attorney specializing in constitutional law and a student of the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises—traces what he calls the "federal metamorphosis" from a once-limited republic to the boundless State democracy of today. It is a transformation best understood, he maintains, by observing the steady succession of Supreme Court cases that have slowly subverted the "best-drawn and most wisely-conceived document of State ever written."

The judiciary, warns Kilgore, have become the "robed priesthood of the American civilization." Almost all disputes are now resolved in the courts—from girls who want to play Little League baseball, to conservationists desiring to save the snail darter. It is the members of the Supreme Court's "stewardship as interpreters of the Constitution" that the author challenges. Always he asks, "Is this authority found in the Constitution?"—with the answer usually an emphatic no.

Beginning with *United States* v. *Grimaud* (1911), Kilgore traces the gradual judicial expansion of the interstate commerce clause, whereby the government's law-making power came to reside in federal regulatory agencies, a "giant bureaucracy responsive to no one." Why did this happen? Authoritarian government with "dictatorial control of the minute details of daily moral, social, economic and political life cannot be achieved when all the law-making powers are permanently kept in the hands of Congress."

The book is well researched, with scores of decisions subjected to rigorous constitutional scrutiny. Judicial handling of Selective Service resisters, tax suits, the integration controversy, legislative reapportionment, and more, come under furious attack. The book is an invaluable reference source for anyone studying the history of the aggrandizement of power in this country. Its author has few illusions about the nature of government.

> the achievement of power over other people's affairs is the aim of every politician....governmental power can



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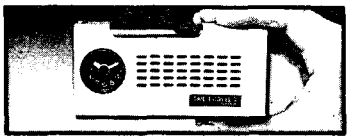

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NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS -- 1978:
CATEGORY NOMINATION: CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

Shining Clarity: God and Man in the Works of Robinson Jeffers by Marlan Beilke

There is no valid authority
In church or state, custom, scripture nor creed,
But only in one's own conscience and the beauty of things.
— Robinson Jeffers, 1947.

A book of quality on "California's greatest poet" which both **discloses** Jeffers' profound religious convictions and **reveals** — for the first time — his tenacious commitment to the freedom way of life. Fewer than 200 copies of the first trade edition left at $25.00. Approximately 20 of the deluxe separate edition [with heavy bronze medal on blue velvet slip-case] left at $100.00.

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never be expanded except by further limiting the freedom of one or more individuals;...of all civil rights which any individual possesses, the most fundamental is the right to be free of lawlessness in government.

But the author's polemic is a bit one-sided. After all, the Constitution allows the central government to "make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper" for executing any enumerated power. And these powers include "to regulate Commerce...among the several states" and "to coin money, regulate the Value thereof." The income tax, via a lawful amendment, is quite constitutional. Although with the 10th Amendment the Founders constrained federal power, this exclusionary clause turned out to be impotent protection against the sweeping powers conferred on Congress via the Constitution's general-welfare provisions, on which the Supreme Court has relied heavily. It can thus be argued that our Constitution was a blueprint for the very tyranny the author laments.

Kilgore includes a proposal for reform —that the doctrine of *stare decisis* should have no bearing in constitutional law. This is the common-law doctrine that past decisions of the court are binding upon the Court and, especially, on lower courts. Kilgore's argument is that, since judges take an oath to uphold the Constitution, they owe primary allegiance to it, and not to other judges' holdings. So on constitutional issues, every judge must look anew at the guarantees of the Constitution. Rulings could always be overturned on appeal, but the higher court's holding would apply only to that one particular case.

Presumably, a highly unpopular Supreme Court ruling would precipitate a flood of appeals as lower courts disregarded it. Popular pressure, Kilgore argues, would then be brought to bear on the Court to reconsider, or at least demonstrate, the wisdom of its interpretation. The Court's quasi-legislative power has come from the "evil of the false assumption that Supreme Court decisions are a part of the supreme law of the land, instead of merely attempted interpretations of the supreme law."

Kilgore's proposal is an intriguing one. Would it only permit provincial prejudices to hold temporary sway? Or could it bring diversity to a nation rapidly being taught to march to the sound of the same (federal) drummer?

Michael Goode is completing studies toward a law degree.

Book Hints

a selective mention of books received

Sheed Andrews & McMeel, in cooperation with the Institute for Humane Studies (Menlo Park, Calif.) and the Liberty Fund (Indianapolis), continues to make available classic works and new studies in the Austrian economics tradition. Recent editions in the former category: Ludwig von Mises's *Liberalism: A Socio-Economic Exposition* (1978, 207 pp., $15/$4.95), first published in English in 1962 as *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth: An Exposition of the Ideas of Classical Liberalism*; and *The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science* (1978, 148 pp., $15/$4.95), wherein von Mises explores the Austrians' distinctive methodology. And a recent addition to Austrian studies: *New Directions in Austrian Economics* (1978, 239 pp., $15/$4.95) presents papers delivered at a conference commemorating the 100-year-old "marginalist revolution" in economic theory.

F. A. Hayek, one of the most well known Austrian economists, has recently had two works reprinted in paperback editions by the University of Chicago Press: *The Constitution of Liberty* (1978, 568 pp., $7.95), first published in 1960; and *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, vol. 2, *The Mirage of Social Justice* (1978, 195 pp., $4.95), the middle volume in a series still to be completed with *The Political Order of a Free Society.*

Reprinting from a quite different tradition is accomplished by the University of Alabama Press with *Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican*, ed. Walter Hartwell Bennett (1978, 145 pp., $12.75). These letters, of disputed authorship, were written in opposition to the 1787 constitution and in defense of a bill of rights. This is the first time they have been published together in one book.

More reprint editions: From Arlington House we get a hardcover reprint of David Friedman's *The Machinery of Freedom: Guide to a Radical Capitalism* (1978, 240 pp., $10), originally published in 1973 as a Harper Colophon paperback. The material is the same except for an updating and expansion of the appendix listing what Friedman calls his competition—books, magazines, and organizations offering additional and sometimes different exposure to Friedman's libertarian ideas. Murray Rothbard, too, has had a 1973 book redone. Collier Books, a subsidiary of the original publisher, Macmillan, has brought out in paperback his *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto* (1978, 338 pp., $5.95). Unlike Friedman, Rothbard has done some revising for this edition. There is a new chapter on inflation and the business cycle and an addition to the chapter on strategy wherein Rothbard expounds his faith in the ultimate victory of liberty. And an earlier premier chapter on the libertarian movement has been replaced by an appendix "providing an annotated outline of the complex structure of the current movement." This appendix is similar to Friedman's in listing libertarian or libertarian-like magazines and organizations; but, unlike Friedman, Rothbard refrains from including any competition—any very different slant on libertarianism. Notable omissions include REASON magazine; the long-standing Society for Individual Liberty; and World Research, Inc., which produced the film *The Incredible Bread Machine* and, recently, *Libra!*

—M. Z.

Shining Clarity: God and Man in the Works of Robinson Jeffers

By Marlan Beilke
Amador City, Calif.: Quintessence Publications. 1977. 294 pp. $20.

As a poet, Robinson Jeffers has been inaccessible to many readers. This is not due, as with many poets, to ambiguity or obscurity, for Jeffers is passionately clear. The barrier is his constant attention to harsh and painful realities; his poems have an unyielding surface that largely conceals their deeper themes. In *Shining Clarity*, Marlan Beilke has given us a geological survey map to help us find the gold hidden in Jeffers's rocky landscapes.

There is particular interest for libertarians in this, since Jeffers's themes were largely libertarian. He held authority in fierce contempt. His vision of history was a tragic one, centered on the decay of America from freedom—through foreign war, mass democracy, and economic centralization—into empire. This cost him many readers, since literary critics have largely thought of this development as progress and have ignored Jeffers as ideologically offensive. Libertarian themes would not justify bad poetry, but poetry as good and unjustly ignored as Jeffers's

commands interest both as a noble expression of such themes and as a wrong to be corrected.

Shining Clarity is an attempt to show the deep structure of Jeffers's themes. Beilke divides these into two subjects—God and man—and three periods—youth, maturity, and the testing of Jeffers's values by World War II and his wife's death. His method throughout is to read Jeffers's short lyrics (of which nearly 60 are printed in full, along with numerous excerpts) as straightforward statements of Jeffers's thought, accessible to reasoned understanding. Comparison among them reveals Jeffers's vision as coherently focused on recurringly stated themes.

The center of that vision was Jeffers's God: not a supernatural being, but the natural universe. This is akin to Hindu pantheism, but without its subjectivist tendencies; in "Credo" Jeffers writes: "I think that the ocean in the bone vault is only / The bone vault's ocean: Out there is the ocean's: / . . .the heart-breaking beauty / Will remain when there is no heart to break for it." Jeffers's God is existence itself, whose essence is objectivity and inhuman beauty; his poetry is his worship of it.

Such worship, Jeffers believed, has only one alternative: worship of a magnified image of human prejudices. The results of this are "cruelty and filth and superstition," the center of his tragic vision of the human species. Even the destruction of natural beauty and the loss of human independence are part of God, but they are the harshest of the realities that Jeffers struggled to see as beauty. Only the will to love even this truth, Jeffers thought, can purify human beings. His political themes fit into one corner of this image, showing tyranny and war as rooted in hatred of truth.

The great merit of Beilke's work is not primarily his comments, exegeses, and summaries. Rather, it is his providing Jeffers's lines with context, in a reordering through which they mutually illuminate one another. To gain such impressive results with such simple tools is a measure of Beilke's ability as a critic.

Beilke's text is surrounded by many other features. Some, such as the unpublished poem "The Last Conservative" and the many illustrations, enhance the text. The inclusion of five prefatory sections, by Beilke and four others, does not—despite some useful biography; reaching the fifth preface on page liv, one wonders if the book itself will ever start. Once it does, though, any explorer of Jeffers country will find it extremely useful.

—William H. Stoddard

A History of π (Pi)

By Petr Beckmann
4th ed. Boulder, Colo.: Golem Press. 1977. 202 pp. $9.95.

It is perhaps surprising that one number has been studied by generations of mathematicians, both professional and amateur, to a far greater extent than any other. That number is the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, denoted by the Greek letter pi (π). Beckmann's book is a lucid and entertaining account of these investigations. It is written in a lively and witty, if irreverent, style, with the mathematical details clearly worked out.

Though not evident from the title, this book has much in it of interest to libertarians. The author is a professor of electrical engineering and a champion of liberty and the free market. He discusses many of those aspects of political and social history that have influenced investigators of π, pulling no punches in his attacks on authoritarianism, militarism, and mysticism.

The story of π begins around 2000

(*Continued on p. 48.*)

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movies

• The Deer Hunter • Magic • Watership Down • Paradise Alley • Halloween

• With brutal honesty and thousands of kilovolts of raw power, **THE DEER HUNTER** deals with how the Vietnam war affects one American community—a mountain town in Pennsylvania composed largely of Russian immigrants, whose center of activities is the local Russian Orthodox Church. The first third of the film concerns their daily lives, their work at the factory, their weddings and parties and celebrations. Among them are three men (Robert De Niro, John Savage, Christopher Walken) who are about to become much more than hunters of deer: their lives are about to be changed forever because of their imminent encounter with Vietnam. Suddenly, without warning after an hour of rural America, the scene is Vietnam; and the men who have been celebrating at the wedding party of one of them, two film-minutes before, are now prisoners of the Viet Cong, and one of the most gruesome scenes in film memory is enacted before us with gut-wrenching realism.

How the war transformed, crippled, and destroyed the lives of Americans, soldiers and civilians alike, is the main theme of this film. When in the last part of the film the scene abruptly changes again, back to the Pennsylvania town, it is with such a difference that although the locale over which the camera ranges is much the same as at the beginning, the pain never stops.

The best scenes are set in Vietnam (filmed in Thailand). The last days of Saigon, and the vain attempt of anyone who placed his trust in Americans in order to get out, are powerfully rendered, as the gates of the American Embassy close in their faces. The desperate search for an AWOL American soldier as the escape routes are closing is as racking a sequence as can be found in recent films.

Between the life of the factory town depicted at the beginning and the ironic singing of "God Bless America" at the end (ironic from the standpoint of the film makers, not of the characters depicted), more than three film-hours go by. If one is content to soak up atmosphere and absorb contrasts, this is not too long; but even for this purpose, much footage could have been cut, *if* the cuts were unerringly made. As it is, we have strong and powerful scenes followed by others which dissipate their force. Yet if the rhythm of the cuts is not right, it would be preferable to leave the film as it is (the decision had not yet been made when I saw the preview performance). It would be regrettable to see one more worthy film ruined by ineptitudes in the cutting room.

—John Hospers

• A British film of more than three decades ago, *Dead of Night*, was a superb achievement in suspense and terror. It contained several unconnected episodes involving psychic phenomena, and one of them starred Michael Redgrave as a ven-

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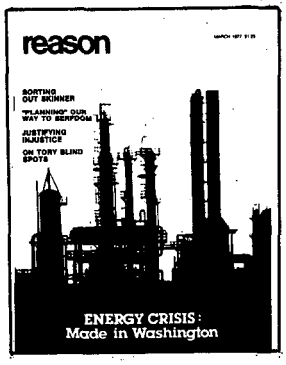
REASON's debunking of the energy crisis and national planning?



March 1977 $1.50

In this issue Alan Reynolds demolishes the myth that OPEC made the US energy crisis—instead, it was a product of Washington. And Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek looks at the propaganda for national economic planning; unfortunately, he concludes, it repeats the errors and cliches of earlier arguments in the '20s and '30s, and both lead right down the straight and narrow to serfdom. Also in the issue are critiques of Harvard University limelights B. F. Skinner and John Rawls, for their behaviorist utopianism and egalitarian theory of justice. Plus Manny Klausner's editorial on oil spills, Alan Reynolds's Viewpoint on deficit ("revenue") sharing, and a review of *"Star Trek" Lives*.

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triloquist who voices through the words of his dummy his own unconscious fears and conflicts (thereby absolving himself of the responsibility for them), becoming ever more psychotic until at last the dummy gains a supremacy over his personality and kills him. By reducing the material in each episode to the bare minimum necessary to achieve maximum effect, and aiming for the psychological jugular, the film succeeded in evoking the ultimate in eerie and mind-blowing suspense.

The ventriloquist-and-dummy episode has now been padded into a full-length film called **MAGIC**. The locale has been changed to the Catskills, and a few servings of hokum have been added—physical impossibilities that add nothing to the terror, which is psychological. Apparently British director Richard Attenborough thought he could sustain the story for two hours by fleshing it out to include a woman and her jealous husband, thus working a love-triangle into the tale of the ventriloquist. In spite of a few tense moments, and excellent acting by Anthony Hopkins, the mix doesn't work, and the whole proceeding ends as anticlimactically as if the viewer had been struck in the face with a wet dishcloth.

Because x minutes of y is first-rate entertainment, it doesn't follow that x times four minutes of y is four times as good. Many movie makers appear not to have learned this lesson, and so they keep pumping money into losers like this one.

—J. H.

• About two decades ago, when full-length cartoons were identified in people's minds with Disney (because he was about the only one who made them) and Disney was identified in people's minds with children's stories, a feature-length cartoon from England appeared on American screens; countless children, intrigued by the title and the cartoon-pictures in the ads, flocked to see it. Its name was *Animal Farm*, adapted from George Orwell's novel. It was unrelentingly raw, savage, murderous. Those who went to see it in largest numbers were turned off by it or didn't understand it, and those who would have understood its message and profited from it were seldom the ones who went to see it.

Something like this has happened again with **WATERSHIP DOWN**. The animals are wonderful—not endearing like Disney's main animal characters, but still fascinating for any child (or adult) to watch. But the theme of the picture is not children's fare at all: the cruelty of nature and, specifically, the cruelty of animals to one another. Rabbits are the principal victims in this film, and a great deal of sympathy is enlisted for them against their predators—until, further along in the film, the migrant rabbits encounter a totalitarian rabbit society and the conflict is now rabbits vs. rabbits.

As a parable, however, the film is none too clear, and it vacillates between pointing up a moral and just telling a story. The moral can best be appreciated by those who may be bored with the details of the story; but the story itself can best be enjoyed by children, who will empathize strongly with the vicissitudes of the rabbit colony, but for them the story will be very sad. Disney never exposed his viewers to the most pronounced feature of animal life, the universal suffering and the struggle for existence. But children who have seen television shows like "The Last of the Wild" may be more prepared for it today, and one could argue that even if they're not, they should be. If any parents feel that their children don't know these facts about animal life and should, *Watership Down* will correct their naïveté in one fell swoop.

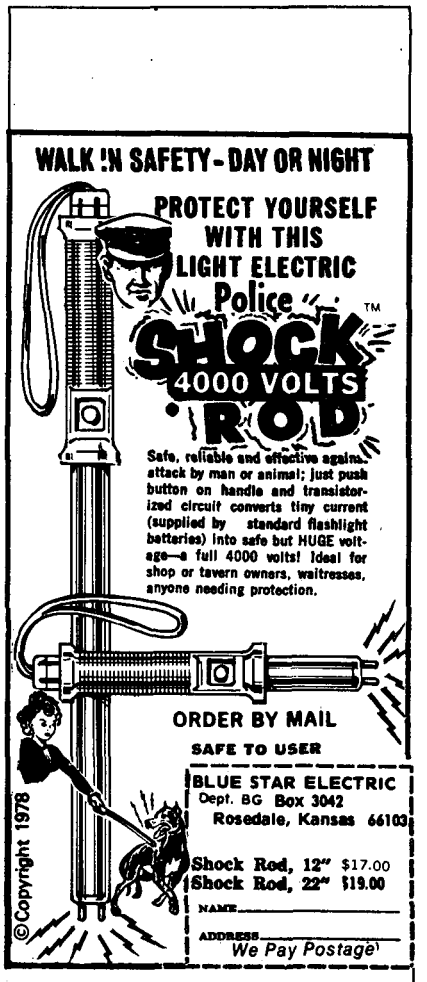
—J. H.

• Apparently Sylvester Stallone wanted to repeat the success of *Rocky* by following it up with a similar film, which has now become **PARADISE ALLEY** and which he wrote, directed, and starred in. The first picture took place in the slums of Philadelphia; the new one, in the slums of New York. The locales are similar and much of the dialogue is similar, but in other ways the two films are quite different.

Rocky managed to achieve, with a very thin and padded plot line, a kind of simple idealism: anyone who tries hard enough can make it. *Paradise Alley*, beneath the surface of optimistic reassurances between characters, is a dismal and depressing film. Almost all the characters are losers who will never get out of the environment from which they want to escape. Nor will they achieve their dreams, for they do not do anything that will make them come true. The pessimism that becomes explicit in one of the characters throwing himself into the bay, lies not far beneath the surface in any of them: their hopes are hopeless; their dreams, sheer wishful thinking. All this is so prevalent throughout the film that when one dream does come true in a manner of speaking (at the very end), it seems contrived and rings false. Unless you want to know what Hell's Kitchen was like in the late 1940s, there is not likely to be much personal reward or satisfaction in going to see this one.

—J. H.

• At first one would tend to dismiss **HALLOWEEN** as just another horror cheapie. But it turns out to be considerably better than that. One must admit at the outset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that it is totally forgettable, and there is no reason to remember it two minutes after leaving the theater—in fact it is better not to remember it, for it might make one incapable of enjoying any more Halloweens. Still, while one is watching it, it is more than usually scary.

John Carpenter, who directed, produced, and wrote the script for this film, and even composed the music for it, is a man to watch. There is no fog or confusion here; the plot situation is clearly set forth, and one knows from moment to moment what the situation is—as much as an audience is expected to know while keeping the trump mystery card in the director's hands. As in Hitchcock, the sense of timing is practically flawless. The writer-director plays a fascinating game of cat-and-mouse with the audience: when will *it* strike again? Just when one has concluded that a certain event is inevitable, something different happens, and the viewer is forced to amend his estimate of future probabilities. It is a pleasant and diverting game—as pleasant as such a macabre plot permits—played to a fault by a writer-director who, though still in his apprenticeship, may yet one day fill Hitchcock's shoes. This film is no *Psycho*, but it is the nearest approach to it that has appeared in recent years.

—J. H.

books

(*Continued from p. 45.*)

B.C. with the realization that if one divides the circumference of a circle—any circle—by its diameter, one always gets the same number. By a straightforward measurement one can deduce, as did the Egyptians, that π lies between 3.1 and 3.2. Much of the work on π during the next 4,000 years consisted of finding better and better approximations to its value, even though, for any imaginable application, accuracy to 25 decimal places suffices. (The book's end sheets reproduce a computer printout of the first 10,000 decimal places of π.) But there is more to the story of π than mere digit hunting.

Though they solved many difficult problems of geometry, the Greeks could not determine whether it was possible, using only straight-edge and compass, to construct a square equal in area to a given circle—the famous problem of squaring the circle. Since the area of a circle is π times the square of the radius, this problem is closely related to the nature of the number π. After being studied for over 2,000 years by many of the world's most able mathematicians, the problem was finally solved. Lindemann, in 1882, showed that it is not possible to square the circle using straightedge and compass.

His rigorous proof of impossibility, however, did little to quell those amateur geometers known as circle-squarers. Die-hards surface sporadically, claiming to have found a miraculous construction that succeeds in squaring the circle. Most often this involves a claim that π is rational—a quotient of two whole numbers—even though it was shown in 1761 that this is not the case. For instance, E. Goodwin, of Solitude, Indiana, claimed, at the same time, that π is equal to 4, 160/49, and 16/5. Goodwin differed from most circle-squarers, though, in that he attempted in 1897 to have the Indiana legislature pass a bill stating and approving his new mathematical truths. Beckmann's thorough account of these events includes a reproduction of the original bill, which passed the Indiana House; he also describes the exploits of other circle-squarers.

The book is enhanced by many fine illustrations, and the fourth edition has cleared up misprints found in the third. This very readable book is highly recommended to anyone interested in a fresh and unconventional view of the history of science.

—Stanley Wagon

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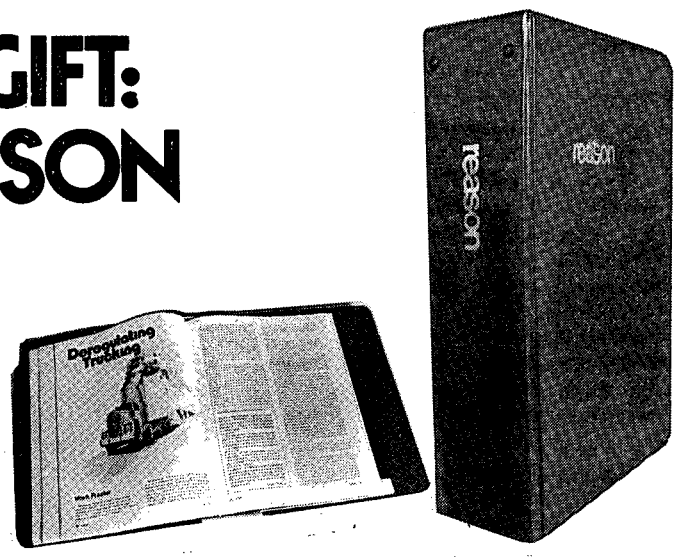

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letters

(Continued from p. 11.)

as a frozen abstraction but this is then a psycho-epistemological and not a philosophical issue. Sid Greenberg and Jim Stumm would throw out the baby with the bath water.

Wm. T. Loggins
Houston, TX

Which Parasites Can Go?

Like Doris Gordon [Letters, December] I found Mr. Lorenz's abortion analogy [August] inapplicable. In refuting it, however, Ms. Gordon herself goes beyond logical bounds. A fetus conceived through rape is by definition *not* "biologically *caused* by his mother in part." Furthermore, I don't know any freedom-of-choice advocates who would seriously contend that a fetus does not exist. Obviously if it isn't dead it lives. For that matter, even a corpse exists —as a corpse. A fetus, however, lives as a parasite in the body of its host/mother. Society forbids killing a month-old infant because that infant has identity as a fait accompli; it is a separate entity, or it would be unable to live outside the mother.

The issue of personhood, whatever that is, is irrelevant. The non-aggression-without-cause principle holds for *all* living creatures with identity. Parasites don't have it. A concept of "potential" personhood begs a useless question: is a fetus human? The issue is life, not any particular type. Whether a fetus is plant, animal or human, it's still a parasitic organism. We may justly implement personal preference in an aggressive manner (read: destroy a fetus) against only that which at the time lacks identity. We may not, however, use one-sided force against that which lives apart from us and still call ourselves "libertarians." (The jury is still out on killing trees.) A fetus, however, has a "right to life" only when that life can be distinguished with reason from another life. Otherwise, one might apply the "right to life" approach to forbid all amputations, removal of tumors, etc. Until the point of viability outside the uterus, a fetus has no more "right to life" than a tumor and merits no more. And what *is* LFL's stand on cancer operations?

Laurie Gelb
Houston, TX

viewpoint

(Continued from p. 40.)

first for a major Libertarian candidate—showed up as a separate line, not merely lumped with minor party candidates under "other"; he received two percent of those "likely to vote." By October he had jumped to three percent. The trend was up, but even those of us who were both optimistic and knowledgeable only guessed that he would get about 250,000 votes. Less than a week before the election, the *Bakersfield Californian*, the daily newspaper for a city of 80,000, endorsed Clark for governor, stating its belief that Clark was "the wave of the future." On election night, as the incredible Clark vote came rolling in, sober CBS analysts began to repeat the phrase in some wonderment.

Libertarian Party strategists see their next task clearly: to nominate someone for president who can capitalize on and intensify the mood of the public and who can emulate Clark and Randolph in putting the party on the presidential map as definitely one of the three major parties in the United States. ☐

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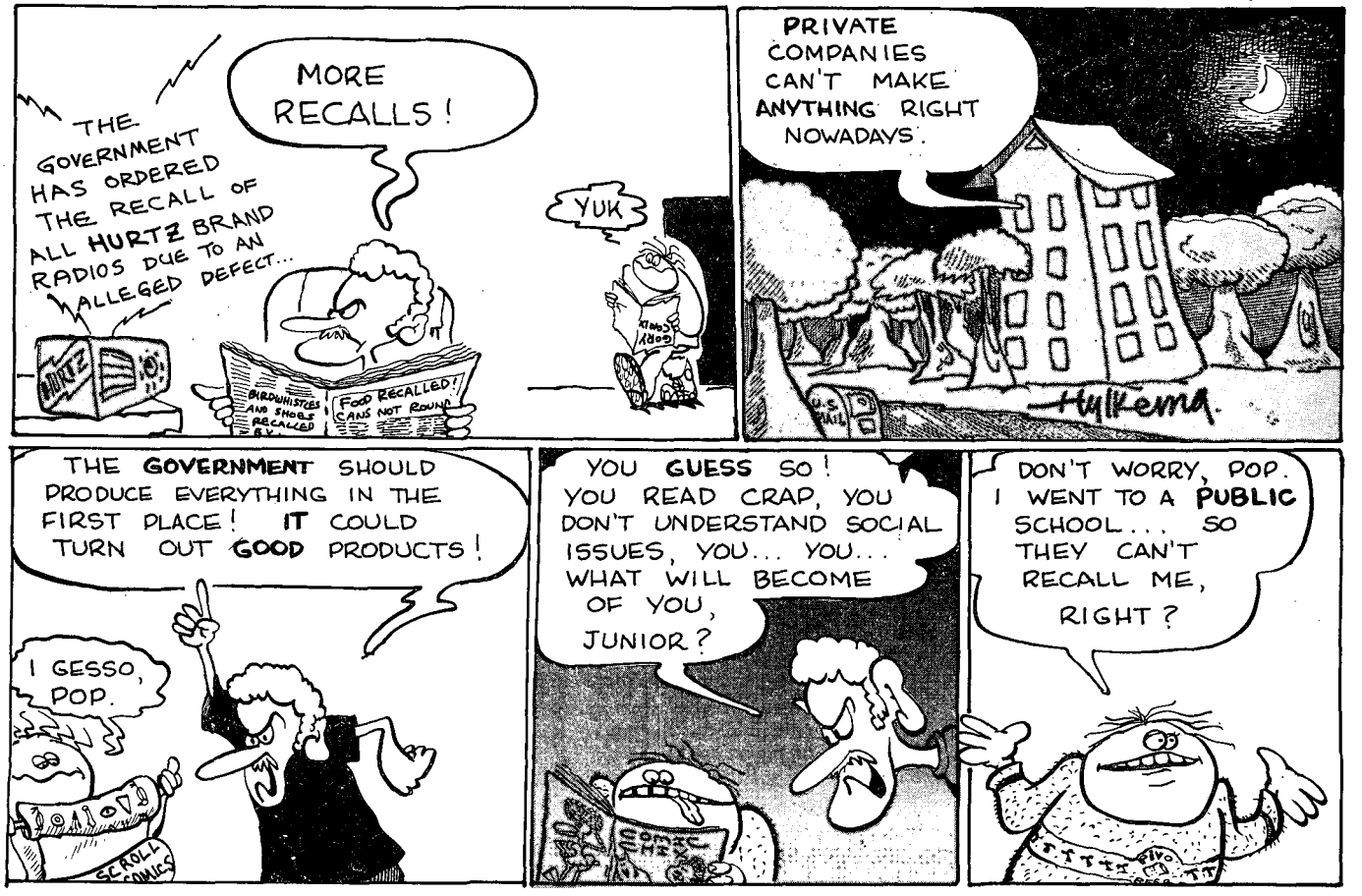
by Randall K. Hylkema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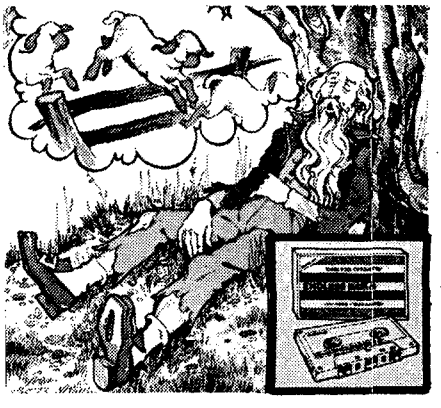

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—Irving Kristol

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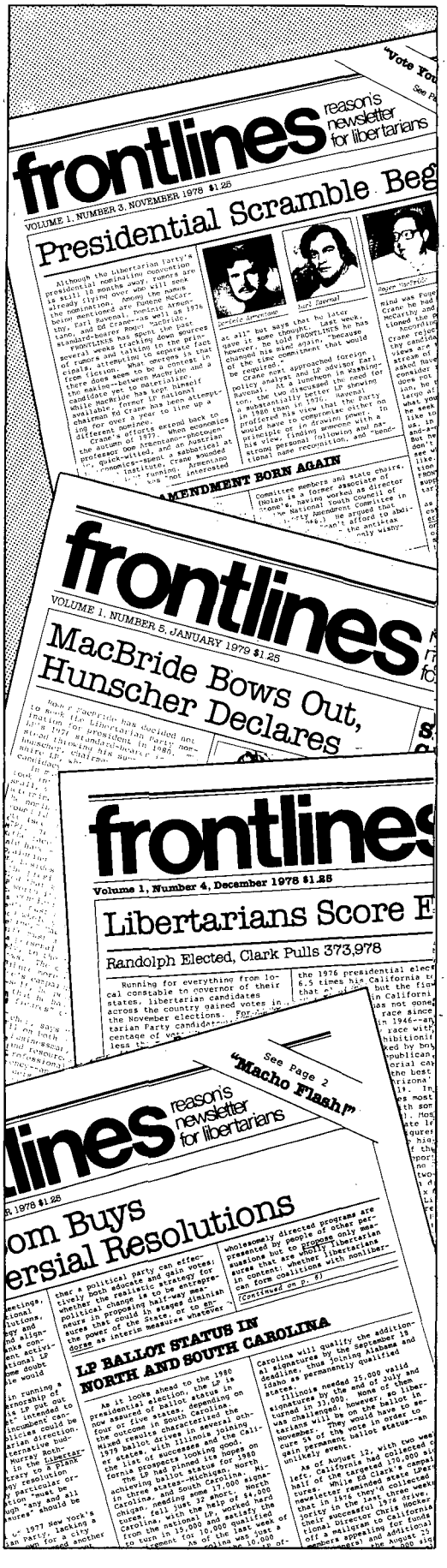
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LP BALLOT STATUS IN NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA